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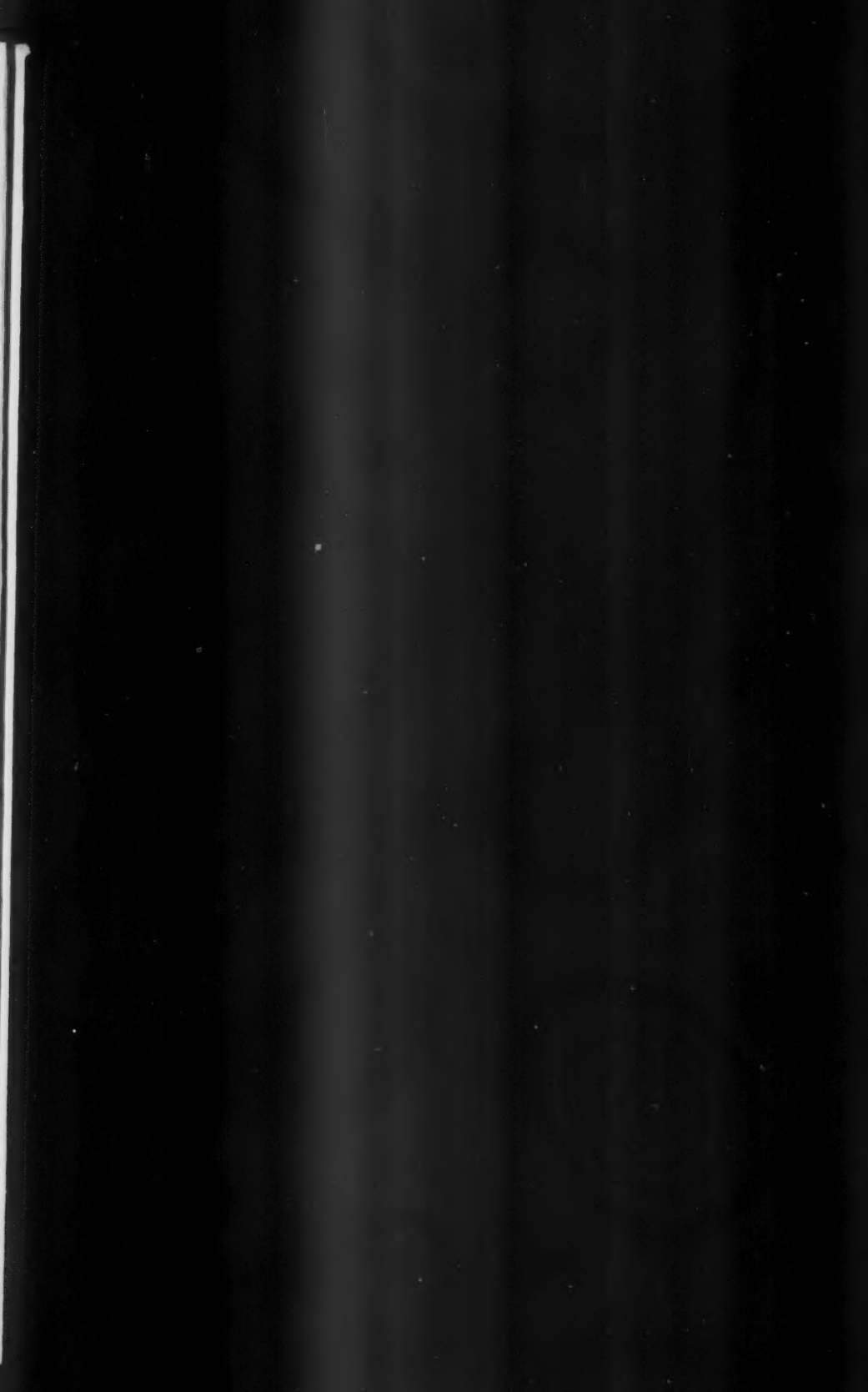
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THE MUSIC REVIEW

VOL. III, NO. 1

Edited by GEOFFREY SHARP

FEBRUARY, 1942

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Donald Tovey

BY

EDWARD J. DENT

THE first thing to be remembered about Donald Tovey is that throughout his life he was a singularly delightful and lovable personality. Older people often called him a prig and a bore; those of his own age, and especially those who knew him as a young man, were enthralled by him, if they were drawn to him at all. He must have had a singularly happy childhood and adolescence; he was taken away from his parents at an early age to be entrusted to almost the sole care of his real educator, Miss Weisse. Miss Weisse, if I am not mistaken, had started a school or kindergarten at Eton for the children of Eton masters; eventually this developed into a regular girls' school called Northlands, in the south of England, which attained a very high reputation. Donald was the son of an Eton master, the Rev. Duncan Tovey, famous for his scholarly editing of the Letters of the Eton poet Thomas Gray; but Donald himself was never sent to a school of any kind. Miss Weisse made up her mind from the first that Donald was to become a great pianist; none the less this most remarkable woman succeeded in giving him the complete and in many ways perfectly conventional education of an English gentleman, so that when he went to Oxford as a scholar of Balliol in 1894 he "dropped easily into normal college life", as Dr. Ernest Walker says, and soon made friends with undergraduates of various types and tastes. Despite having lived for several years in the environment of a girls' school, like Achilles in Scyros, there was never the least trace of femininity in his character.

My own acquaintance with him did not begin until November, 1898, but I had occasionally heard him play the pianoforte (as "Master Donald Tovey") at concerts in Eton and Windsor, where he was always more or less at home, though his father had retired from Eton many years before. After he went to Oxford I heard more about him from Dr. C. H. Lloyd and others, and although I know nothing of his undergraduate life at first hand, I must not omit to record here one amusing episode of those days. Dr. Lloyd still retained the conductorship of the Oxford Classical Concerts after he had become Precentor of Eton, and on one occasion he was to conduct at Oxford the overture to *Die Meistersinger* at an afternoon

concert. The orchestra was mainly professional from London, with a few good amateurs from Oxford, and musical undergraduates were naturally utilized to play "kitchen" instruments. On this occasion Lloyd needed a triangulist, and a thoroughly safe one, in view of the important single stroke which announces the famous combination of three themes. Donald was the obvious man to get for this duty; but it so happened that he could not attend the morning rehearsal as he was taking an examination. But he was free in the afternoon for the concert, and Lloyd felt certain that he would be sure to count his bars and come in right even without any rehearsal. In this he was not mistaken; a few bars before the great moment he looked towards Donald to give him the cue, and saw him bursting with excitement, though perfectly assured and self-possessed—he already knew every note of the overture as well as Wagner himself—and grasping his triangle firmly in his clenched fist. He hit it at the right moment, but naturally it produced no audible sound. It was a misfortune which no conductor could have foreseen, and which could not possibly be remedied.

After he had taken his degree Tovey paid several visits to Cambridge, where he stayed with Professor and Mrs. Newall, who had almost adopted him as a son. Mrs. Newall was an excellent pianist, and both she and the Professor were old friends of Joachim, who generally stayed there when he played in Cambridge. The great attraction for Tovey in Cambridge was the Pendlebury Library of music, presented to the University by Mr. Richard Pendlebury, a mathematical Fellow of St. John's, elder brother of Mr. Charles Pendlebury, the author of mathematical text-books, who died in August, 1941. Mr. Richard Pendlebury had initiated his gift in 1877 with the newly published complete works of Beethoven, and from year to year until his death soon after 1900 he added continuously to the collection, following his own tastes. It thus came to contain all the *Gesamtausgaben* published up to that date (Bach, Handel, Mozart, Palestrina, etc.) and a very representative collection of classics and romantics from Gluck to his own day. Mr. Pendlebury never bought arrangements of operas and orchestral works if he could possibly obtain a full score; the only operas which he presented in vocal scores were *Les Troyens* and *Carmen*, of which full scores were then absolutely unobtainable, except by managers of opera-houses. Oxford possessed no music library of this type, and Tovey's opinion at that time (1898) was that in all matters musical Cambridge was a far superior place. It was from the Pendlebury Library that he was able to borrow full scores of all Wagner's

operas, as well as those of Gluck, Meyerbeer, Méhul, Cherubini and others including what he always called "The Plum-Pudding", i.e. *Hänsel und Gretel*, then a comparative novelty. It must have been severe exercise riding a bicycle up to the Observatory loaded with at least two volumes of gigantic full scores in a leather satchel of appropriate size made especially for this purpose by one of Tovey's lady friends.

It was Tovey who drew my attention at that time to the importance of Cherubini and Méhul, composers who in those days were very much off the beaten track; and although in his later writings he was often inclined to speak slightly of Cherubini, he seems to have been keenly interested in Méhul up to the end of his life.

We met again in the autumn of 1899 on the way to the Meiningen Festival, accidentally, in a hotel at Cassel, where he spent the evening playing and singing to me his settings of *The Bad Child's Book of Beasts*. At the Festival he was naturally in the innermost musical ring; I was with Sedley Taylor of Cambridge and H. P. Allen. Sedley Taylor knew everybody and was a respected figure, but he did not seem to care much for the society of celebrities and preferred the humdrum company of Allen and myself. Tovey sometimes joined us at luncheon, but Sedley Taylor did not like the conversation to be monopolised by someone else, and made every ingenious effort to avoid "the lecture," as he called it. I was young and ignorant enough to find Tovey's conversation—or more properly, discourse—completely fascinating, and I never spent an hour in his company without learning a good deal more than I could digest at the moment.

Tovey, for his age at that time, was not only learned beyond belief, but a strikingly original thinker as well. Older people called him a prig; *prig* was a vogue-word (as Mr. Fowler would class it) from the 1870's onwards, and generally meant a young man who knew more than his elders and was tactless enough not to conceal the fact. Tovey was never conceited at any period of his life, not even in old age; he displayed his learning because it was all so new and exciting to him, and because he wanted his friends to share the joy of it. In this he was like a generous child with a new picture-book or a box of chocolates. Although he had learned a great deal in Germany, where he paid frequent visits to Joachim, another of his "adopted parents", he never acquired the German habit of attacking his colleagues in print; jealousy was an emotion which he simply could not conceive. Nor did he thrust his own compositions on unwilling listeners; and I never heard him complain that they

were neglected and all too seldom performed. Most of his works, in fact, were composed for his own use—chamber music with piano-forte, and a pianoforte concerto, which he played himself at his own concerts, though I remember copying out the parts of a string quartet myself, after a cheerful Cambridge breakfast-party, for trying-out by local amateurs.

When he started on professional life, soon after 1900, he remained curiously apart from the rest of the musical world. He had his own set of friends and admirers, the frequenters of the Joachim concerts and what later became the "Classical Concert Society" and eventually developed (about 1915)—somewhat surprisingly—into the "Fight for Right Movement", though Tovey himself managed to keep entirely clear of that. Francis Toye in one of his novels called them "the Joachim stained-glass-window gang". I will not accuse them of narrow-mindedness, but only of purity of taste. Most of us had been brought up on much the same musical foundations—Beethoven as the centre of everything, with Haydn and Mozart as his supporters, Bach (whose cult in England was then only just beginning to develop) and Handel (whose cult was just beginning to fade), with Palestrina in the far distance of a Dantesque heaven, Schubert, Schumann and Chopin for more human emotions, and Brahms as the heir to all the classics. Liszt was one of the eternally damned, along with Meyerbeer and Raff—though why our elders should have made so much fuss over anathematizing Raff, a mere nonentity, I never could understand.

It was a safe and happy world, in which nobody had ever even heard of Debussy, let alone of more modern music, unless it was that dangerous young man Richard Strauss, who had just published a rather startling violin sonata. Tovey in the forty years that remained to him made the acquaintance of all the modern music, and even included some of it in his analyses; but with all efforts to be broadminded he never really enjoyed it, and his own musical personality remained uncontaminated by any modernist doctrines. And even in those early days when Granville Bantock and Cyril Scott were about the only English composers who were considered "advanced", Tovey was so much out of the world that many musicians were hardly aware of his existence. In 1911 the International Musical Society, of which both the president (Sir Alexander Mackenzie) and the secretary (Dr. Charles Maclean) were British, held a Congress in London, and the local committee seized the opportunity of showing the foreign visitors what this country could produce in music. They were determined to bring in everybody,

regardless of tendencies, and regardless of the length of the concerts; at the very last moment, when programmes were being printed, Mr. Fuller Maitland suddenly said at a committee-meeting "We've forgotten Donald Tovey!" I rather fancy Dr. Maclean had never heard of him. The only thing that could be done was to put him into a concert of unaccompanied choral music, and in the midst of madrigals and motets by Wilbye, Wesley, Pearsall, Sullivan and others, Tovey played his *Elegiac Variations* for pianoforte and violoncello with Percy Such.¹ It was characteristic of Tovey that he accepted the invitation without the least sign of annoyance, although most musicians of his standing would have been justly indignant.

His appointment to the Reid Professorship at Edinburgh in 1914 settled him for the rest of his life in what was probably the best possible environment for him. Of his work there I am not competent to speak, but the six volumes of analyses give some idea of the range of his concerts, although he himself warns the reader that many works, especially modern works, were performed which were not mentioned in the collected essays.

Tovey was brought up to be a pianist, and this coloured his whole musical outlook to a considerable extent. He gave recitals, but he appeared more often as a partner in a chamber ensemble, and he was never much in demand as a player of concertos with orchestra. His interpretations of pianoforte music were always interesting and illuminating, but they were sometimes more like lectures than concert performances; he had very little feeling for beauty of pianoforte tone, and it was fortunate that his invariable self-restraint moderated the force of his *fortissimo*, for otherwise he might easily have fallen into that vice of thumping which has characterized most of the celebrated German pianists. He excelled as an interpreter of Beethoven, and loved to play all those obscure works of his which the average pianist avoids; but it was not until almost the end of his life that the London critics recognized his truly marvellous powers. In his younger days he often played Chopin, and at that period there was a great deal of romantic nonsense talked about the right interpretation of that composer. Tovey's Chopin was sound common sense, as one might expect, and the sentimentalists were horrified. Moreover, he flatly refused to adopt the habits of the famous *virtuosi* who would play all four *Ballades*

¹ Tovey gave several concerts in Germany with Percy Such, and I was once asked by a German if I knew that remarkably fine violoncellist with a Russian name, Sergei Putsch.

consecutively at one recital, or all the *Études* and all the *Preludes*. Tovey knew what the *Preludes* signified; they were meant to be introductions to some larger piece in the same key, introductions such as many players of old would have extemporised, and Tovey chose them carefully and played them one at a time as prelude to a sonata or a nocturne. The most beautiful playing of Tovey's that I can recall was a series of minor Brahms pieces, mostly of the late period; in these he really did succeed in producing beautiful tone, and in showing his audience that this peculiarly beautiful tone was exactly what Brahms had designed these pieces to exhibit.

As a composer, Tovey was again almost always the concert pianist; most of his works were chamber compositions with a pianoforte which he always played himself. Their rigid conservatism often made them sound rather dull, and if Tovey is remembered in future ages, it ought rather to be through his one opera, *The Bride of Dionysus*, though that work is on a scale which makes frequent performances unlikely. That opera was the fruit of collaboration with a real poet, R. C. Trevelyan, and Tovey herein showed himself an astonishing master of melodious declamation in which every syllable finds exactly its right rhythmic value. But the drama, like Boito's *Nerone*, assumes an audience of classical scholars; its conventions are those of Greek Tragedy, not of the modern operatic stage. Opera for Tovey meant mostly Gluck, Beethoven and Wagner; of all the repertory favourites he would merely have said: *Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa*.

Tovey was very well brought up. There are certain things in life that we do not talk about; and for Tovey ordinary opera was one of them. It was the inevitable result of that conventional German musical education of the late nineteenth century which taught us all—Tovey was no rare exception but just one amongst thousands—that abstract instrumental music was the summit of all artistic achievement. This was Tovey's creed throughout his life. It was that sort of music—Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, or the "three B's", or both—that became a religion to many musical people, both amateur and professional, and they often seem to have felt that there was a taint of positive "sin" about any music outside the sacred walls of their temple. I could always understand Tovey's devotion to Beethoven; I was brought up on Beethoven myself from the age of four, and have often been laughed at by some of my friends for my blind adoration. But Tovey's outlook on Beethoven and other classics was hedged in by a spirit of reverence which to me was often infuriating. Needless to say, this did not

affect Tovey's performance at the pianoforte; it was only in his talk and his writings that this absurd reverence became conspicuous. It runs all through the six volumes of analyses, and it is amusing to the habitual scoffer to watch how nervous Tovey sometimes became when analysing some work which he knew perfectly well to be open to criticism or likely to provoke mirth. If anyone had a sense of humour, it was Tovey; but he sometimes felt that he had to pretend he had none. We see him haunted by a horror lest "the enemy should blaspheme". Tovey may criticize the lesser masters and even the great ones, but if you or I venture to do such a thing, we are told that we are "perky"—that was his favourite epithet for such as would not go down on their knees.

Music had become for him so much of an act of worship that he could not bear the existence of other sorts of music which awaken in us feelings merely of interest, pleasure or amusement. It was perhaps only natural that he should have no use whatever for Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti; but it is really surprising to find him saying that the whole seventeenth century meant nothing to him. That being so, it was still more natural that he should have taken no interest in any music before Palestrina, none in Palestrina's secular contemporaries, and none whatever in the music of non-European peoples. All that was just "antiquarian research" and he had no use for it. After all, one cannot expect every musician to be an antiquary; but how was it possible that so marvellous a musical intellect should never have been able to experience the beauties of Purcell and Monteverdi?

In his last years he evidently found himself obliged to face certain types of music, both ancient and modern, which lay outside the classic frontiers. And so, when lecturing to the British Academy on "The Main Stream of Music", he felt it his duty to include in the "main stream" the English Madrigal School. Well, history can always be manipulated, and a sort of case can be made out by a patriotic historian for a direct line from Byrd and Gibbons through Locke and Purcell to Handel and thence straight to Beethoven, but if we are to be really honest we must regard most of English music as a remote, though very attractive, backwater. If we want to find out what were Tovey's reactions to the music of the present century, we must read between the lines of his analyses, and it is by no means difficult. He tells us himself that the programme analyst is counsel for the defence, and in defending these causes he is quite plainly taking every advantage of a professorial chair which allows no heckling from the audience. One of the most entertaining

of these analyses is that of Elgar's *Falstaff*, in which he prints his own independent guesses at the meaning of all the composer's descriptive themes, with Elgar's own interpretations in a series of footnotes. Rarely do these two interpretations agree, and yet it is obviously impossible to accuse Tovey of stupidity, inattention or want of imagination. The net result to the reader is to make him think that all pictorialism in music is just nonsense, and that is probably what Tovey very politely wished to convey. Mr. William Saunders, his most devoted disciple, has already told us that Tovey never changed his opinions about any work of music, and well do I remember the beaming eye with which Donald, after the first production of *Caractacus*, said to me, "Have you heard my new adjective—VELGAR?" And it was Donald, of course, and none other, that on the appearance of *The Dream of Gerontius* at once rechristened it *Gerry's Nightmare*, the name by which it is still invariably known to all the survivors of that happy Eton and Oxford circle which surrounded Donald with devoted affection and admiration.

The volumes of analyses, and the two little posthumous books containing the Cramb and Alsop lectures, are to some readers rather irritating in their repetitions, in their longwinded sentences and in their irrelevancies. The best are those written, and actually written with a pen, for concerts given before he went to Edinburgh. Others read as if they had been delivered extempore as lectures and taken down by someone in shorthand. As a lecturer Tovey was rambling and erratic, and he frequently indulged in a tedious sort of controversy which must have been quite unintelligible to most of his hearers and readers because he was too good-natured to refer to any adversary by name and never remembered exactly what the said adversary had written, so that his own refutation of false doctrine became nothing but a rhetorical tangle.

The most important of his writings is undoubtedly the early paper on "The Classical Concerto", in which he demonstrates that the classical concerto form is descended from the operatic aria of the Neapolitan composers contemporary with Handel. This method of analysis made it possible to correlate the pianoforte concertos of Mozart (as typical of the classical concerto form) with the *Concerti grossi* of Corelli, Handel and J. S. Bach. Tovey was in fact the first theorist to give any really satisfactory explanation of the *Concerto grosso* as a musical form. Out of such analytical studies arose his wonderful analyses of choral movements of Bach derived from other sources, often lost concertos. I am completely convinced by such

daring examples as Tovey's hypothetical reconstructions of the lost *tutti* out of which Bach constructed the *Et resurrexit* in the Mass in B minor, and the study of Tovey's analyses and reconstructions is enormously helpful to a right understanding and interpretation of the Mass itself. I am equally convinced that Tovey had a sure instinct or intuition for the right instrument in doubtful cases, as, for instance, when he maintained that the solo instrument of the *Benedictus* was not a violin, as is generally supposed, but a flute. Another intuitive judgment of his was that the so-called *Jena* symphony attributed to Beethoven and assigned to a date earlier than any of the familiar nine was not by Beethoven at all, but was a mature work of Haydn which by some accident had got left behind at Bonn when Haydn passed through Bonn on the way to London.

The greatness of Tovey's musicianship lay in his extraordinary penetration and understanding of classical music, and also in his unusual ability for conveying this understanding to the minds of his pupils and disciples. Personal contact was necessary to get the most out of him; however rambling he became, one always learned something new from his casual talk. What Edinburgh thought of him I do not know; to judge from his prefaces to the Analyses, Edinburgh cannot have shown much appreciation of his genius, and there are many passages in his writings which suggest that he was surrounded by people of more than average stupidity and old-fashioned prejudice. It was unfortunate that he was never called to occupy a professorial chair at Oxford or Cambridge.

*The Unfinished Symphony**

BY

T. C. L. PRITCHARD

"WHY was it unfinished? I suppose he laid it aside and forgot all about it", said one of the congregation leaving St. Paul's during the first Great War after a service at which the Symphony had been played by the orchestra.

"Perhaps he simply ran dry and had no more to write", answered another. "I heard it by gramophone one night in a trench on the Western Front, and I thought it a shade longdrawn out. To-day it seemed more like the right length; and yet I believe there should be as much again".

A third ventured the opinion: "Perhaps he had completed it and the rest was lost. It is surely possible to weigh all the facts and conditions and arrive at some clearer decision on the subject".

I inclined to agree with him and promised to gather the evidence. Whatever the reason, he added, it appropriately symbolised something denied its full course, young life cut off in its prime. The most impressive part of it for him was the silence of what should have followed. He would have liked to have that silence unbroken until the end was due. Then each of us in the circumstances of the occasion could have finished it for himself.

The eighth Symphony of Schubert, as is well known, was commenced at the Göttweigerhof in the Spiegelgasse, Vienna, where he was living with Schober, and it bears the date, 30th October, 1822, when he was twenty-five years of age. The processes of its composition are unknown: there is no contemporary reference to it, for even in his important letter to Spaun of 7th December, by which time he had removed to his father's house in the Rossau, the composer in retailing his recent activities omits to mention the Symphony. Its unfinished state and its association with the Styrian town of Graz have long been the subjects of conjecture and have helped, with a suggestion of frustration overtaking one of his typical acts of generosity, which seems to fit in with the quality of the music and with his brief life here, to make it the most humanly interesting of

* Readers may be interested to refer to previous contributions on the same subject:—Professor Deutsch's article, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 35; Dr. Hans Gál's, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 63; Mr. Meyerstein's letter, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 184; and Dr. Pritchard's previous article on the composer, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 105. [Ed.]

all symphonies. They are not likely to be explained at this late day, and they continue to add something to its popular appeal by virtue of the element of mystery they impart to it.

The work was one of a series of precocious and successful studies in symphonic form by which he rose from strength to strength. Of the previous seven, the first six had doubtless been proved in performance by the private orchestra which grew from the Schuberts' domestic quartet. They are all effectively written with many presages of his ultimate maturity and were so much esteemed that Ferdinand copied most of them so that they might not be lost. The sixth initiated a new and more advanced phase in the composer's whole outlook, and we know that he thought well of it even towards the end of his life. The private orchestra was disbanded in March, 1821, so that when the seventh Symphony followed in August without a body of players to sponsor it, he, while reaching the end, left it more as a draft of his intentions which could be (and has been by Barnett and Weingartner) completed in all its details. Nine years after his first he penned his eighth after making sketches for it, the only symphonic ones to survive with the exception of some unfulfilled in 1818. If we regard the Grand Duo as an unscored ninth and the lost Gastein work as a tenth, then with the final one in C Schubert produced three more symphonies before his death; that is, eleven in fifteen years. Ten of these were completed, for he did not set out on such ventures in the highest flight of music, particularly when they entailed all the labour and art of scoring which he always made a very personal feature, without seeing the end in front of him. The remaining exception is not only the one symphony but the solitary instance of a work of his for orchestra which is unfinished.

Where did Schubert stand when he wrote this curious exception among so many? By the year 1822, when he was well into the upper reaches of his rapid ascent, he was modestly aware of his capacity as a composer in every form. He had produced upwards of seven hundred works, and his fourteenth publication was about to appear. His instrumental facility had come more slowly, but by this time he was at the height of his power with his health unimpaired. Long before, Josef Hüttenbrenner had foreseen him blazoning in the musical firmament as a new Orion, while Beethoven had already prophesied that this remarkable young man would yet surpass him. And they had spoken thus in the knowledge of only a fraction of his development. They knew nothing of what he was now able to do. The new Symphony simply had to be written and,

whatever might be its final destination, it came into being without thought of a performance and public approval, without hope of financial gain, though he was dwelling in poverty and was being supported by loans from Josef. He did not fail to recognise it as entirely different from anything that had hitherto happened to him. Revision and second thoughts had surprised him into an effective piece of tone-painting. He knew full well that by it he stepped forth from the influences of the past and stood alone with himself. It brought him evidence that in the concentrated reserve the form demanded he had indeed attained to maturity and that from now onwards he was free to wield his endless fancies with an easy finished technique. Such new assurances afforded him more reason to complete than abandon it. They gave him more cause for satisfaction than such approval as could have come from others and would surely drive him to the end of as happy and fruitful a task as any of his symphonies had opened up before him.

The manuscript consists of seventy pages of his customary thick quality paper in Querformat (oblong form), unbound and therefore in loose sheets. The first page is used for the title, key, signature and date, most carefully written in large hand and portending an important and finished work. Of the sixteen lines to a page fifteen are used, the top one always being left vacant except at page 13, where he begins on it and leaves the lowest vacant. One large bracket spans the lot. Throughout his life Schubert followed the Italian nomenclature and method of scoring, in which the first three strings were at the top and the other two at the foot, and he generally filled in these before the others. The writing, though not at a uniform speed, is confident and distinct, but it is not easy to say in every case where he broke off for the day. By ordinary standards it might be regarded as a careless manuscript. But with him the music was the main consideration, and a generous allowance was assumed for the smaller details of notation which could easily be put right by anyone who came to use it. In making corrections he was always careful to obliterate the originals, as if to safeguard the privacy of his mind, and he also requisitioned his customary pen-knife, even in the sketch. Where there was a chance of doubt, he sometimes extended the stave into the margin, or he inserted the alphabetical letters over the notes, as near the beginning where he altered two E's to F's and to make sure wrote *ff* above, as though *fortissimo* in a *pianissimo* passage.

The various corrections are of two kinds, those due to a change of idea and, more numerous, those due to inattention, while there are

a great many errors left uncorrected of which over a hundred were put right in the Collected Edition. His changes of idea mainly resulted in a clarifying of the harmony by lifting it up from the bass or in giving prominence to a part, and these seem to have been immediate since they duly appeared as settled in later repetitions; none were made which necessitated alterations all through the movement after it was finished, as in the final Symphony. Certain grammatical freedoms enforced redistributions of ideas as well as of parts, while others were allowed to remain as licences of the practised hand. Two of these freedoms arose from his departing from the sketch: one was rectified, the other left. He found, however, no occasion for alterations in the many devices of orchestral effect, which were as spontaneous as they were original.

Of the mistakes due to inattention, some came from his regarding such matters as the bowing and phrasing, the insertion of wrong accidentals and the frequent omission of necessary ones, as of secondary importance. They were trifles which would be clear to intelligent copyists. In the second movement he asked for one drum in E but wrote in addition for another in B. Incidentally, he used the plural form "viole" alone among the strings and the singular form "oboe" alone among the wood-wind. A fruitful source of trouble lay in the instrumental dispositions appearing, as usual with him, only on the first page of the movement, without anything on the other pages to remind him of them. The two flutes had a line each, and he sometimes forgetfully began the oboe on the second flute; at another point he wrote the two flutes on one line. He could be careless in writing for the transposing instruments, particularly the clarinets. At certain places his eye seems to have risen no higher than the line above and found a wrong valuation. Other corrections arose from mistakes in simply copying a part on the same page or on a previous page. He continued too long or not long enough with a repetition, brought in an instrument two bars early or changed some of the lines of harmony before their time—in every case making discord with the other parts until revision found it out. On one of the blank pages he had previously jotted down an idea for use elsewhere:—



He now required the page for the second movement, numbered it 61, the first of three sets of four sheets, and commenced writing over this idea the oboe entry of the second subject a couple of bars before

it was due; the situation became so confused that he had to strike it all out very precisely and resume on the line below with an intimation that for the moment it was the oboe line and the other was for the silent clarinet. At another place, where a sentence was being repeated with an altered cadence, he engineered the second cadence everywhere but in the horns and trombones, which he made to conform to the first cadence. Two peculiar instances of badly ineffective parts for the bassoons and horns, a miscalculated treatment of a delicate interior pedal in the sketch, were left untouched at the double bar of the first movement and were repeated in the corresponding place near the end, an instance of his reproducing the wrong thing correctly. In the recapitulation, before the bridge passage leading into the second subject, he probably confused the trumpet with the timpani in the line below; he originally had this progression and changed the unison to a note for first trumpet only:—



What he intended was that the two trumpets should resolve together on the first space. A few pages later he gave an impossible discord to the first trombone, and he would have been displeased had he found him accepting it. It would have been natural that his pen should slip while his mind was moving ahead of the unrelieved labour of writing, though elsewhere he seldom allowed it to do so, least of all when there was a sketch to keep them together. But, apart from his carelessness in revision, these things were so unusual in the alertness of composition as to suggest a failing interest in the drudgery of copying one already existing; if such it were, then it can be said at once that he never copied out an unfinished work.

The first three pages of the sketch are missing, but as that marked 4 is a right hand one it must have been preceded by four in all. It begins in the recapitulation of the first movement, just before the

second subject with some important differences from its present form:—



In the fourth bar, something has been carefully deleted with his pen-knife and a dot added to the A, and yet the repetition in the violins gives the bar as it now is. There was a good deal that had to be altered in the section following with its vista of many keys, largely by the addition later of four modulating bars to the second subject in the upper strings, and in the coda which was originally nothing more than a pianissimo plagal cadence with a major ending and became the poignant piece of expression it is through various changes made while being scored. The second movement was set down very much as it was to be. Occasionally he felt the rhythmical need of repeating a couple of bars or of adding a codetta to a phrase. The only hints of orchestration appear here, mainly in reference to the solos of the second subject, and show they were settled from the beginning. The expression marks are few. He apparently sketched both movements in sections, for in the exposition of the first he made an important alteration in the score which appeared at once in the sketch at the later repetition; while in the second, after the close before the second subject, he had inserted the long violin notes into the score a third higher as a move into E minor, but changed them to go into C sharp minor, as they do now, and with these, right from the first, he continued with the sketch; what follows in the score is the writing of another day. Some of his most characteristic features were not spontaneous. The famous violin move into A flat had originally G natural instead of sharp, and the return move was an afterthought inserted into the margin. Here again the coda was extended, even after it was orchestrated, while the overlapping of phrases at the end was another afterthought in the sketch.

The Scherzo, simply called Allegro after the occasional manner

of Beethoven, and sixteen bars of the melody of the Trio are completely drafted out and are quoted here. But it is not fair to judge

Allegro

The musical score is for a piano piece in the key of D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. It is marked 'Allegro'. The score is written for piano (p) and consists of seven systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system begins with a piano (p) dynamic marking. The music features various chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines. There are several repeat signs and first/second endings indicated by '1.' and '2.' markings. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat signs.

them from what was hurriedly done to catch the passing idea and serve only as a basis for something greater. His sketches were for

2

The musical score is written for piano and strings. It consists of seven systems of staves. The first six systems are for piano and strings, with the piano part in the upper staves and the strings in the lower staves. The seventh system is labeled "TRIO" and features a single melodic line in the upper staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A repeat sign with first and second endings is present in the sixth system. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4.

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his eye alone and omitted many things which were to be filled in later in accordance with his method of working. They were a form of shorthand. Often they were unrhythmical and ill-balanced and the necessary adjustments, continuation of figures, varied repetitions and harmonies were left to be implied. The sketch of the first movement suggests a much inferior conception to the finished score, and many re-touches brought forth the wonders of the second movement. (See Photograph 1.) The Scherzo of the final Symphony, like the other movements, underwent considerable change while it was being orchestrated, and the delightful additional theme for the flute was added on a separate piece of paper gummed on to the page after it was finished. Such things came later. And so the ultimate form of the present Scherzo cannot be estimated from the sketch, but would certainly be a great improvement on it. It cannot be claimed that he laid aside the sketch and with it the Symphony as beyond his power to finish. The technique of a great composer has more subtlety in it than that. It not only would enable him to get out of an unmanageable situation; it saves him from getting into it. Even as it stands, this promised to be an exhilarating piece of work, which, after he was done with it, would extend to its proper length and contain many notable features of detail. It shows economy of material, being wholly built on two contrasting themes, the first of which is an elaboration of the modulating bars at the end of the exposition of the first movement. Out of it rises the theme of the Trio. Though purely orchestral in spirit, there are no hints as to tone-colour, but there are, relatively, more expression marks than in the sketch of the *Andante*. He repeats an effect used in the first movement just before the bridge passage to the second subject, where a note is retained from the previous chord: here two notes are so retained to lead back to the opening. Their purpose in modulation is the reverse of the other, for they bring us back to B minor after G, towards which there has been a marked tendency. These are the two relative keys of the first movements of this and the fourth Symphony, an unusual alliance to which Schubert was partial. The Trio also is in G, the same key relationship in the same place as in the piano Sonata, Op. 42, and the posthumous one in C minor.

The orchestral score ceases after one page of nine bars of the Scherzo. This page, which shows a return to the instrumental forces of the opening movement and has exceptionally a square bracket for the trombones, is on the left hand and the right hand page is empty. If the score had ended on this right hand page, it

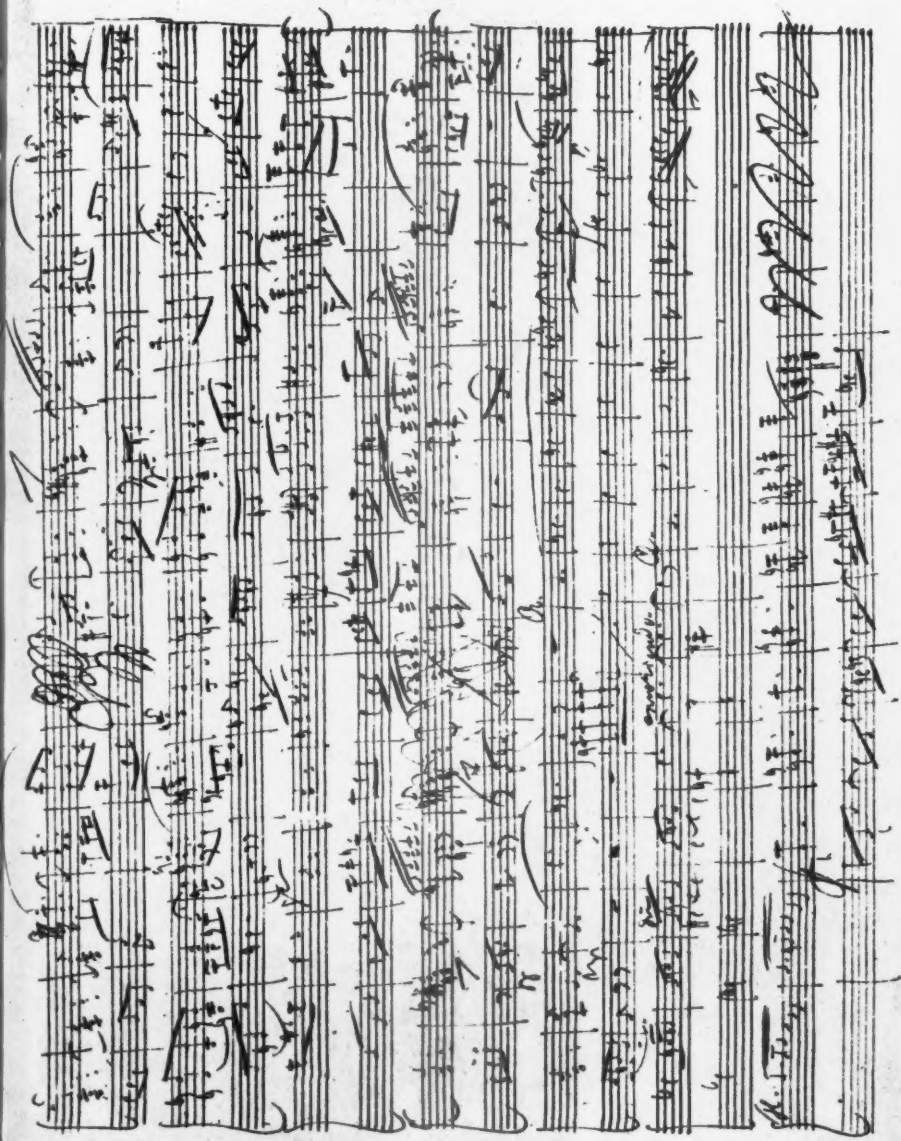
would have given more convincing proof that he had ceased writing at that point. He was sometimes careless about finishing one group of sheets before taking up another, and what was to follow might well be a new group (say as many again) which were detached from the preceding ones or could be held together inside this double page as the only means of their safety. The Third Symphony, also unbound, with almost half as many pages more than these two movements, is in seven loose quires or portions. While this is the one doubtful link in the chain of evidence that the Symphony was probably finished, it is to be noted that throughout the manuscript he apparently had the left and right hand pages in front of him, for the writing of the left hand page, from the more cramped position, tends to come down towards the right, both in the perpendicular lines of notes and in the bar lines. This happens to be very specially true of the Scherzo fragment and it does more than suggest that the right hand page was in front of him for the purpose of being filled in. (See Photograph 2.) The left hand page also bears slurs and a tie and two groups marked "col" other instruments continuing across the margin to the staves that were awaiting them. In addition, the second last bar commences an oboe solo with string accompaniment, shown complete in the sketch, and it is probable that he wrote out the eight bars of solo into the right hand page before turning back to this one to fill in the harmony. You have only to look at the two appearances of the second subject of the first movement to find that this was his method. The cello melody is all of a piece in strong bold writing, which passes into both violin lines where the melody is repeated. The accompaniment notes at both places are likewise all of a piece in smaller script, as if representing their secondary importance. (See Photograph 3.) The same thing is manifest a few bars later in the antiphonal phrases arising out of the subject between the upper and lower strings. They were written first and the chords in the wood-wind were filled in later, with single notes occupying the bars coming invariably below the second crotchets, which were already there to locate their positions. Again, towards the end of the exposition he made an important alteration in the viola which was introduced six bars later in the violins. He then turned back to fill in the wood-wind, which at once conformed to the alteration. Similarly, in the second movement, just before the return, he wrote out first the sixteen bars of imitation between the basses and the first violins (the only two appearing in the sketch) and then completed the rest from two pages back. That was his natural method and certainly suggests that the

next page of the Scherzo was not only there but bore the continuation of the oboe solo. And if that were so, you might as well say the movement was finished—and, for that matter, the whole Symphony. Three-fourths of the serious part of the work had already been victoriously overcome in the first two movements. The rest was in the nature of a relief to them and did not offer any difficulty. A Scherzo was a simple problem and he set forth on it in the fresh vigour of a new morning still reflected in the clear bold writing. This page almost wholly in octaves and without a slip, beyond making a crotchet for a minim, was the work of ten minutes; he was ready to sweep through at one sitting to the end of the very jubilant sketch, which he had thrown off in half-an-hour with scarcely a correction. I find it difficult to imagine him of all men and in such a promising hour rising from his happy task after nine bars.

It is sometimes said that the work was composed in connection with his being made an honorary member of the Musical Society of Graz; if this be so, the honour must have been discussed in prospect during the previous year and the Symphony written as a future acknowledgement, for the Society did not pass their resolution until April, 1823, and it was not conveyed to him until the September following, on his return from holiday. The diploma was framed "in full appreciation of your already widely known merits as a musician and composer". In response he wrote to the Society in these lively terms:—

"I pray that my devotion to my art may ultimately make me worthy of this distinction. With the purpose of expressing also in music my most heartfelt thanks I shall venture to present your honoured Society at an early date with the score of one of my symphonies. With the deepest respect I remain the Society's most grateful and devoted servant".

It was the first honour of the kind to be bestowed upon him and his reply shows that he valued it highly. During the following summer, when he was at Zseliz, a letter from his father incidentally enquired whether he had fulfilled his promise regarding "the notable distinction conveyed to you in the diploma from the Styrian Musical Society. . . . That worthy Society has displayed a high regard for you which may be very useful for your future benefit". The composer's reply, however, has not been preserved. It may be assumed that, as the Symphony was ultimately found at Graz, it was sent as he had promised to the Society. They were unable to perform it and Josef's brother, Anselm, himself an honorary member,



Photograph 1: A PAGE FROM THE SKETCH OF THE SECOND MOVEMENT. (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna).

20

W. *W.*
Viol.
Flut.
Clar.
Clarinet
Fagot
Contrab.
Violon.
Cello
Bass
Double Bass

Handwritten musical score for page 20. The score consists of 12 staves. The first staff is labeled 'W.' and contains a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The subsequent staves are labeled with instrument names: 'Viol.', 'Flut.', 'Clar.', 'Clarinet', 'Fagot', 'Contrab.', 'Violon.', 'Cello', 'Bass', 'Double Bass', and 'Double Bass'. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The paper is aged and shows some staining.

21

Handwritten musical score for page 21. The score consists of 12 staves. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The paper is aged and shows some staining.

(Oppos.
Pho

(Oppos.
Pho

24.



Photograph 4: ONE OF ANSELM HUTTENBRENNER'S CORRECTIONS. (The oboe part is on the sixth line from the top of the score.)

(Opposite : Top)

Photograph 2: THE ONE PAGE OF THE SCHERZO. (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna).

(Opposite : Bottom)

Photograph 3:

THE SECOND SUBJECT OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT.

Original der Franz Schubert. Wien 1841.

(Berg, Franz. 6. Cap. 24. l.)

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano, arranged by Hüttenbrenner. The score is written on four systems of staves. The first system has a treble clef and a common time signature. The second system has a bass clef and a common time signature. The third system has a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth system has a bass clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

Original der Franz Schubert. Wien 1841.
(Berg, Franz. 6. Cap. 24. l.)

Original der Franz Schubert. Wien 1841.
(Berg, Franz. 6. Cap. 24. l.)

Original der Franz Schubert. Wien 1841.
(Berg, Franz. 6. Cap. 24. l.)

Original der Franz Schubert. Wien 1841.
(Berg, Franz. 6. Cap. 24. l.)

Photograph 5: A HÜTTENBRENNER MANUSCRIPT ARRANGEMENT OF A SCHUBERT WORK.
(From Richard Heuberger's "Franz Schubert").

took it and retained possession. There was nothing unusual in that; it would have happened anywhere else. Schubert presented his last two symphonies to the Vienna Gesellschaft, perhaps for future rather than present kindnesses, yet such was the attitude of this important society that they lost the one and the other was later found in Ferdinand's collection. In a provincial society it fell naturally into the hands of the only member capable of appreciating it. No one else had any use for it. He arranged it as a piano duet, and the original manuscript bears traces of his hand. He inserted a number of accidentals and corrected one or two note errors, while page 21, a right side page, he despoiled by roughly writing down the margin the instruments to each line. Three pages later we find what at first seems incredible—this man actually filling in four bars of the oboe part which were evidently empty and required to connect what went before with what followed. (See Photograph 4.) That the composer intended the bars to be occupied is suggested by the absence of a whole bar rest, which otherwise was due to be inserted after a sounding bar. The writing of the two men is absolutely distinct, Schubert's being round and even, Anselm's stiff and angular. The pen and the ink are different. The notes, the accidentals, the slurs, the "rmo", which it is doubtful Schubert would have used at this point but which in any case he wrote as rma throughout the oboe part, the "pp" and "cres", so like one getting full value out of his fleeting moment, but which it is certain Schubert would not have added a second time in the woodwind, are all different from those around them and correspond with those in Anselm's manuscripts. (See Photograph 5.) It is difficult to explain this phenomenon.

The brothers Hüttenbrenner, whose names alone are so linked with the Symphony, were natives of Graz, where they owned property. They were on intimate terms with the composer. Anselm had been a fellow-student under Salieri, but after less than three years of pleasant artistic intercourse with Schubert he was absent from Vienna except for occasional brief visits. They again met for, as it proved, the last time during the autumn of 1827 at Graz. His figure shows but dimly in the reflected light of the distinguished personages with whom he sought association. He insinuated himself particularly upon Beethoven when others with a worthier claim held back. His presence at the great man's passing away was the final presumption. The records of his connexion with Schubert are more slender, and almost everything has disappeared that might suggest some reciprocal kindness on his part. He was an

ambitious composer of moderate ability, though Schubert took much interest in his work. The affectionate letters he received from him are preserved, but not his replies. He was the one commissioned with the duty of conveying through Josef the diploma to the new honorary member of the Musical Society. He was, as his friend said, "an influential figure" in the town, but his influence is not greatly seen in the few performances of Schubert's music given to the Society during the composer's lifetime, even after Anselm had become their Artistic Director. He failed even in a simpler service, for in the composer's last year Jenger complained that "Anselm Hüttenbrenner is a careless dog in not hurrying forward Schubert's two Lieder at Kienreich's [in Graz], so that they may be at last engraved". On the other hand, the younger brother, a musical amateur, was one of Franz's most devoted admirers who spared no pains to lend him help and relieve him of the irksome details of business. Josef argued in lengthy effusions with publishers and with theatre managements at home and abroad, arranged dedications on publications, brought the copied parts of the operas for correction, dealt with the composer's finances and took an active share in trying to secure him a regular appointment. They lived for a time in the same house and Franz often composed in his friend's room. Nearly all their schemes ended in failure, though that was not their fault, and they were suspended until a more propitious time should come. But that too was denied them and Josef was one of the few visitors who softened the loneliness of the end. Schubert's attitude to the two brothers had been characteristic of his personality. He reserved his affection for Anselm, whom he associated with the memories of his happiest and most impressionable years, and gave only his esteem to Josef, the more immediate witness and sharer of the changing scene, whom he sometimes treated with impatience as one too agreeable and self-effacing in all things. He saw in the absent Anselm a fellow-composer, in the ever-present Josef a good friend simple enough to regard him as the greatest composer of the time.

The next step in the history of the Symphony takes us forward forty years to the sixties, when its existence was still practically unknown beyond the two brothers who had carefully preserved their secret during all that time. They were now drawing near to the age of seventy. Anselm had become a disappointed and disillusioned man, crippled with rheumatism and forced into retirement. Josef, obsessed with the importance of his brother, was as devotedly jealous of his musical reputation as he had been of Schubert's in the days of his youth, but with much less substance to support it, and

he was active at this time in trying to get some of Anselm's works performed in Vienna. The excerpts from his correspondence dealing with this matter make curious reading from the pen of the Adjunkt in the Ministry of the Interior. They are mostly coloured by grievances, imagined or real, against the musical public and are consequently prejudiced; at some points they are illogical and barely intelligible. Anselm's disappointment is his and has upset his sense of values. He commences with an appeal to Herbeck, Conductor of the Viennese Männergesangverein and of the concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, on behalf of the songs "which unquestionably can be acclaimed the true successors of Schubert's", the quartets, choruses, operas, overtures, symphonies, masses and requiems. He places his brother "with Mozart and Beethoven and before Schubert"; later "Anselm is now ranked as a second Cherubini and Beethoven", and is "the greatest composer in Austria". In so far as reason was his guide, he was not lessening the work of his friend of early days but setting him as a standard to show the supreme powers of one dear to him and so inexplicably neglected.

They both indeed enjoyed the importance they felt in their association with Schubert, which they would use for their own benefit, and they were keeping a hold on their joint collection of his manuscripts until the most profitable arrangement could tempt them to give them up. It was the promise of some such arrangement that made Josef vouchsafe the information to impress Herbeck that his brother "possesses a treasure in Schubert's B minor Symphony which we rank with his great C major Symphony, his instrumental swan-song, and with all the symphonies of Beethoven—only it is unfinished. Schubert gave it to me for Anselm to thank him for having sent the diploma of the Graz Musical Society through me". Later he wrote: "The Symphony of Schubert I had with me for some years until Anselm finally took it to Graz, and in Radkersburg arranged it for four hands. Schubert gave me the Symphony at the Schottentor for the Graz diploma and dedicated it to Anselm". This is the man who, while in the old days most active in furthering and popularising his friend's publications, was now a party to so outstanding a work's long existence in silence at Graz. It is scarcely worth noticing his inconsistency in placing Anselm "with Beethoven and before Schubert", whose symphonies "we rank with all the symphonies of Beethoven". The effect conveyed was what mattered—that such was the great man who was also his brother. If they were to be induced to part with this national treasure, as in the end they must be, it was evident that it would be only after some

of the brother's things had been brought to a hearing and their merits acknowledged.

Such a man was not a reliable witness so far as Anselm was concerned and there must be grave doubts of the truth of his claim regarding the dedication of the Symphony. The first we hear of it is in 1860. He did not always make it, however, even at this time. He repeated it in Wurzbach's "Biographisches Lexicon des Kaisertums Österreich", published in 1863. But two years later Kreissle von Hellborn's large work on Schubert appeared and, from information gleaned from Josef himself, explicitly said the Symphony was presented to the Graz Musical Society. Presumably as Anselm was an old friend of the composer and had a brother, an even more intimate friend, coming and going between the town and Vienna, he had been a convenient means of having the diploma conveyed to the rightful quarter, as he was again in 1827 the means of sending to Graz letters from Schubert and Jenger. Delivery by post was insecure and expensive. And the composer might in effect have said to Josef: The diploma came through you from Anselm [on behalf of the Society]: give him this Symphony from me [for the Society]; so that what was unsuspectingly entrusted with inadequate address to the friendly postmen might be conveniently interpreted as intended for the postmen themselves. There are various evidences, particularly in dealings with his works, of his lack of explicit expression and its resulting to his detriment. In addition, he seldom indicated the dedications on his manuscripts, and there is none on the Symphony. Possibly fraternal loyalty led Josef to imagining, wishfully, a harmless exaggeration and, if any misgiving remained after the passing of a whole generation, to thinking it safe to express it when no one (including Schubert and Jenger, the secretary) was alive to question the truth of it. He had now reached the stage of believing it. The occasion, however, had offered no reason to distinguish Anselm in such a manner rather than anyone else; he was not yet Artistic Director of the Society, and it was not he but the composer's friend Jenger who had proposed the honorary membership. Nor would Schubert have sent to a fellow composer of symphonies the only one of his own he had left unfinished; he had six others, the last of which he valued, and he could have presented him with one of them; if they were not good enough for the purpose, neither was a fragment. Indeed he did not need to send him a symphony at all; it was of no practical value to one in Anselm's position, and Schubert had a hundred other manuscripts offering a more appropriate choice. The most useful type of work

for local performance was vocal. A composer devises an orchestral scheme of symphonic proportions for an audience, not for a single person of comparative obscurity. It was a more suitable gift to a society, even if for the present they could not do it justice. There is no word of Anselm claiming the dedication, which would have added so much to his prestige, while in his written memories of the composer, which he sent to Liszt without receiving an acknowledgement, he did not mention the Symphony. On the other hand, when the work was published, the Graz Musical Society claimed the dedication.

There is another circumstance connected with the two brothers which is best remembered in considering their relationship to any manuscript of Schubert's which fell into their hands. In a letter of 1867, three weeks after the publication of the Symphony, Josef made an illuminating remark explaining Herbeck's distant attitude towards him; it was "because I wouldn't lend him two Schubert operas which he saw I had". Now, these two operas were *Des Teufels Lustschloss* and *Claudine von Villabella*, which the composer had given to him, and nearly twenty years before this Josef's servants had lighted the fires with the second act of the first score, while of the other they burnt the second and third acts and, in addition, a complete copy of the whole opera. These misfortunes, entailing the loss of hundreds of pages which made them both useless, had already been mentioned by Kreissle von Hellborn, and yet Josef was pretending that the works were complete. The chief reason for his not lending them was that he had been the cause of their being incomplete. The Symphony also he kept "for some years", though why he should do so when it was not his is not apparent, and it is not outside the possibilities that some accident of a similarly devastating kind happened to it during that time. Anselm had more to gain from the work and "finally took it to Graz". He did not manifest particular care over it and latterly he was more interested in himself. Herbeck described his visit to him with a view to getting the unfortunate score out of his hands—Anselm took him to his home, the Strasserhof, and into his study "that looked like a lumber-room. Furniture, including a closed stool, had to be pushed out of the way before all the manuscripts could be reached and spread out—first, of course, those of Anselm himself". After discussion on these Herbeck mentioned Schubert and his host replied: "Well, I still have a lot of things by Schubert". Then from a drawer crammed with papers in an old-fashioned chest, he pulled out the Symphony".

If literally reported, the touch of cynicism in this remark of one who did not part with them does suggest it was to be expected that wastage must befall odd things like these which could be of only sentimental interest to the first composer in the country; it was also an exaggeration, for he did not have a lot of them. Anselm had removed to various places since acquiring his treasure, and among his household of wife, nine children and staff he was the solitary one who placed any value on it. He lost various scores of his own and he lost the original manuscript of Mozart's *Ein Musikalischer Spass*, which Schubert himself had presented to him. He claimed that Franz had also dedicated to him a piano Sonata in C sharp minor, of which nothing is known, and it too must have been lost. How much more impressive could he have made a similar claim on the Symphony! But, again, is it not much more than possible that under his charge also something leading to the same fate happened to its other half? I can imagine a work handed in loose sheets to someone in the street away back forty-two years ago for conveyance to its destination, and doomed to the precarious conditions of being moved from house to house and over the difficult journey by stage coach of a hundred and forty-one miles, lying about in the open or thrown in among motley collections of papers (much of which has disappeared beyond hope of recovery), accessible to hands ready to destroy it for their momentary purposes, but I shall not expect to hear that any of it remains to-day. Is it not further probable, if tragedy did overtake it while in his or his brother's keeping, that this was another reason why Anselm was disinclined to break his prolonged and dishonourable silence and give the fragment to the world to which it belonged? Supposing this fragment had consisted of the second half of the work, instead of the first, then we would have called it the "Incomplete" Symphony, and a definite charge could at once have been made against the brothers. But the majority of his mutilated manuscripts are the other way. As the right hand is the stronger for tearing up purposes, the vandals began at the end and worked backwards.

It is a pleasure to turn again to the modest composer through whose transparent purpose, it may be, we can get most light on the problem. He was satisfied to produce his endless music and leave to others the preservation or the loss of it, the valuing of it, the intriguing over it, the profiting by it. He was generous with it to a fault. He gave of his best far beyond what was necessary, and Josef was able to bring back a large number of manuscripts that had been given away too freely, and Schubert allowed him to keep

them for himself. If someone requested a special setting it was immediately done; the only instance of delay was in writing a duet for the seven-year-old Faust Pachler and his mother at Graz, for which he explained he was not particularly fitted. The Requiem for Ferdinand, published as Ferdinand's own work, the Fröhlich choral pieces, the *Forellen* Quintet, the D minor Quartet, the Esterhazy commissions, the Countess Caroline's and her mother's rich collections and so many more were all unconditional bequests of his liberality. A word of admiration usually ended in the presentation of the work, such as the Sonata in G and the songs to Spaun and the Scott cycle to the Countess Weissenwolf. "Bruchmann, Sturm and Streinsberg visited us and were sent off with a fresh load of songs"; that was in the summer after writing the Symphony. "I am exceedingly happy that you like my songs. As a proof of sincerest friendship I am sending you another"; that was to Josef himself. To the brother he dedicated the *Trauer Walzer*, the Variations on a theme from one of Anselm's quartets and other pieces which made enough without adding the Symphony. To these and many others he gave far more than has been recorded, and they always "still had lots of things by Schubert". His generosity embraced everything he possessed, and his overweening sense of duty sometimes went beyond the limits of prudence. His good nature made inroads on his powers and his time, and numerous letters prove how much he deplored his occasional inability to fulfil a promise. He was devoted to his friends and considerate to all. He was peculiarly sensitive to kindness and was never lacking in reciprocating it in the only manner within his reach.

At the same time it is necessary to discount the original conception of Schubert as one whose absorption in composing coupled with this friendly easy-going disposition unfitted him to look after his worldly affairs. It is an erroneous conception that has prevailed too long. The conditions of his life revealed that he had many vigorous feelings of a manlier kind and even, when driven to it, a quick temper. They made it necessary for him to be provident and fight for all that his art meant to him. It is true he did not evince much skill in his dealings with publishers, because he did not reach the time when he could command his terms with them. But he was actively ambitious and in his plans, his methodical habits, his natural good sense, his sincerity and sterling honesty he had useful business-like qualities. A few weeks after commencing the Symphony he wrote: "As my future career is a matter of some importance to me, I must make my way secure", just as for publication

he would submit only what was most successful—"in so far as the composer and his discriminating friends are able to judge, for it is naturally of the first concern to me to send out nothing but genuinely good work". He meditated many shrewd designs for furthering his interests, which he generally left to others to carry out since they could do it much better than he could. He was always fortunate in having around him people who were ready to act on his behalf. It was his own idea to secure the help of Vogl in promoting the songs (a far-seeing scheme which was more than effective); he was the instigator of the many intrigues for theatrical approval and of the frequent glittering dedications; he was the author of the foreign titles and of many settings in various languages; and he planned for Italian favour with Op. 56 and for British recognition in the publication with an additional English text of *The Lady of the Lake* songs. Some of these schemes were inter-connected. Vogl would be further useful for a stage performance, which might be brought nearer by some of the carefully chosen dedications; other dedications were intended to bring him material advantage as well as prestige and extended acknowledgement. They were all honourable designs adversely affecting no one, but forced upon him by the surrounding musical conditions and therefore necessary to the pursuit of his vocation.

That was the varied type of man Schubert was, and it would not surprise me to learn that he himself was the first to think of the honorary membership at Graz, and that the idea led him to commence the Symphony so far ahead of its becoming a reality. The similar honour from the Linz Society came the same summer when he was holidaying in or near the town, and he may have had a hand in promoting that too. The fact that they were given almost simultaneously suggests a common source. This probably explains his silence regarding the Symphony in writing to Spaun. If the work was intended for the other Society, it was diplomatic not to speak of it, the more so as the bestowal of the honour was not yet assured. A curious circumstance is that on the 8th September, a few weeks before commencing the sketches of the Symphony, *Das Dörfchen* was given in the Redoutensaal at Graz under the auspices of the Musical Society, and on the 13th was followed by *Die Nachtigall* and *Erl-könig*. These performances were greeted with unusually laudatory notices in the press and were probably due to Jenger and to Anselm, who appeared as accompanist. Two days later, *Die Nachtigall* was heard at a Linz Musical Society concert. This all took place within a week and yet at either place nothing of his had

been heard for two years previously or was heard for almost as long afterwards. It definitely shows the common source preparing both societies for the projected honours.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that one of such wide and cultivated susceptibilities as Schubert could not be found lacking in proving his appreciation of an honour he had desired and prepared for so long before. The good people of Graz had shown him a kindness and bestowed an endorsement on his work which had been granted to Beethoven and Salieri only the previous year. This may have led to the idea that it should be given to Schubert, and now that it had come he said he did not yet feel himself worthy. But he was all the more touched. After his "most heartfelt" acknowledgements and his promise of their more fitting expression in music he was not likely to show himself less worthy by failing in his simple duty. He was a man of his word, and that offers us sufficient guarantee. He would fulfil it completely and immediately. There were no discourtesies where his music was concerned. He was at no time one who would send nothing, and still less was he one who would send half of what he promised. He valued his music only when it resulted in an accomplished task. His interest in an unfinished one was but momentary, for it was nothing more than a sketch for something better, and it could not be what a young man of twenty-six would send as proof that his devotion to his art would ultimately make him worthy of his place beside Beethoven and Salieri. The generosity of his presentation works and the care with which he selected them were for his own credit as much as for the honour of his friends. It was also, as he quite recognised, in his interest that it should be so. And he had some very particular reasons for upholding his credit at Graz. He had heard much of the dignified, residential town, "the praises of which", he said, "have become so familiar to me". The Hüttenbrenners and Jenger were in the centre of the musical activities and they had a wide circle of acquaintances among the well-to-do and retired classes. The name most frequently mentioned was that of the influential Dr. Carl Pachler, advocate and property owner, who entertained all the artistic notabilities of the day, and whose accomplished wife was herself a composer and as a pianist had impressed Beethoven with her interpretation of his sonatas. But more important than everything else was the fact that the town had a state opera-house, in the management of which Dr. Pachler was a leading figure. Anselm was planning to have an opera of his own performed in it, and Schubert was led to a sanguine hope of a dramatic success for himself there which might

be a means of overcoming the difficulties to be met with in Vienna. Among his various schemes none had a more powerful hold on his imagination than one such as this with its many possibilities, and he would do everything in his capacity to realise it. He recognised that in his association with the musical leaders of the place it was important to create no impression but what was favourable, and the evidence is that he amply succeeded.

A still stronger encouragement to his hopes came to Schubert at the end of 1824, when he got to know another intimate friend of the Pachlers, Sophie Müller, a distinguished actress who had arrived in Vienna; and he with Jenger and Vogl was a frequent guest at her house dispensing with her much of his latest music. We know from his dealings with such stage celebrities as Vogl, Anna Milder and Nanette Schechner that he regarded them as useful allies in his theatrical ambitions. Here was another who by her cultured mind, great vocal gifts and charming personality was a universal favourite and had it in her power to wield a beneficent influence on his interests at Graz. During the following summer she went on holiday to the Pachlers, and doubtless the new songs which she so greatly admired were eagerly heard and discussed by her host and hostess. A letter from Frau Pachler came to Schubert and Jenger asking them to spend part of the summer of 1826 at her house, bringing nearer fruition a humorous threat the composer had made to Anselm seven years before to descend upon the town and out-rival him in his heart affairs. He was "completely charmed" with her kind invitation, an unusual thing in one who was never happy in being cast among strangers. The visit had to be postponed owing to lack of money, but Jenger reported that his friend was "determined on travelling thither next year". In January: "Schubert, without having been presented to you, gracious lady, sends you every assurance of his devotion, and is delighted to make the acquaintance of so earnest an admirer of Beethoven. God grant that our unanimous wish to go to Graz this year may be fulfilled". The prospects gradually brightened and in a prolonged correspondence Schubert himself wrote: "Most gracious lady, although I am at a loss to account for my deserving at your hands the friendly invitation forwarded me in a letter to Jenger, and without ever supposing it will be in my power to make any kind of return for your kindness, I cannot but avail myself not only of the opportunity of at last seeing Graz but also of the honour of becoming personally acquainted with you". The Pachlers had expected Beethoven himself to make the journey about the same time, but his death intervened. Schubert had now acquired some

money and Hoffmann, who met him in August, observed his elegant dress—the one instance of this being said of him and showing his preparation for the great occasion.

The visit was a complete personal success for Schubert, and he was received wherever he went with every mark of honour. It is evident that he arrived with his prestige heightened since his admission to their Society four years before, and much higher than with the Linz Society. He was accompanied by the friend who had proposed him and whose letters reveal the pride he felt in being so amply justified. The time was spent among the more exclusive circles of the town and he was surrounded with the comfort and consideration which would have been Beethoven's. He was in the forefront of their "brilliant company". The kindness of people who had such limited experience of his music does seem to imply an appreciation of his hearty response to the favour they had bestowed on him, and it accords with his having sent them what he had promised. He had done them an unusual honour. As was to be expected of his practical foresight, supported by this natural succession of events, he placed in the hands of his host the scores of *Alfonso und Estrella* and *Fierrabras*, with a view to their local production, and Pachler promised they would be regarded with every sympathy and staged if conditions permitted. The operas were duly rehearsed but their difficulties were beyond the powers of the orchestra and their conductor Hysel, who said it was "technically impossible to play what Schubert wanted". This did not augur well for a performance of the Symphony, and there is not a whisper of the work during his stay among them. They doubtless felt unworthy of his generous gift. Its existence was, however, a step towards a stage success on which his heart continued to be set. A year later, Jenger reported to Marie Pachler that Schubert "expects shortly an improvement in his finances, and reckons confidently that as soon as this happens he will be able to accept your kind invitation and appear at your house with a new operetta". But the financial improvement did not materialise, and he never again saw Graz.

As once more I turn over the pages of the beautifully written manuscript and think of him whose imagination glows in every one of them, when I recall the number of his greater works that are reduced to fragments, I find the opinion strengthened that, like them, this wonderful piece of music had borne him forward to its allotted close. He was an experienced traveller in his own territory and he had set out on the journey to be carried to his destination. I would

like to think he duly arrived. On that September morning when, after an all-night's drive sleepless with anticipation, he stopped half-way at Mürzzuschlag for brief rest and refreshment, he would not have thought of breaking off the journey to Graz, for which there had been so much preparation and from which so much was hoped. Stage coach or horse might fail, but another would be found to take its place. The Symphony had been the fulfilment of a promise and the foundation for the new hopes. It is less likely that, on that other morning at the second page of the Scherzo, he should think of breaking off the journey, and still less of putting it into effect when the coach was already full speed upon its way.

More New Music

In view of the wide public response to the concerts of modern music given by Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd., at Wigmore Hall before Christmas, a second series has been arranged to commence on Saturday, 24th January. On this date, works for string orchestra by Sibelius, Bartók, John Ireland, Alan Bush and Gerald Finzi will be played by a special orchestra of students of the Royal College of Music, under the direction of Sir Adrian Boult. Subsequent programmes will include three new string quartets—by Arthur Bliss, Béla Bartók (No. 6), and Benjamin Britten; Vaughan Williams' song cycle *On Wenlock Edge*; and Bloch's Piano Quintet. There will also be piano works by Stravinsky (Concerto for two pianos), Falla and Villa-Lobos, and songs by Mahler, Moeran, Gurney and Milhaud.

Artists taking part in these concerts include the Griller String Quartet and the Philharmonic Piano Quartet; Harriet Cohen (piano); Max Rostal (violin); Norina Semino (cello); and Astra Desmond, Parry Jones and Elsie Suddaby (vocalists). Complete programmes are obtainable from the sponsors and from Wigmore Hall.

Schönberg's Fourth String Quartet

BY

ANDRÉ MANGEOT

[Dedicated to the ideal patron of Chamber Music, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, and to the ideal interpreters of it, the Kolisch Quartet.]

I HEARD the first performance of this work in London when it was given by the Kolisch Quartet at a concert at Wigmore Hall. I followed the original score which Kolisch himself had lent me, and my first impression of it was the vigour and the directness of the writing. Schönberg seemed to have dropped a good deal of his nebulous outlook so frequent in his previous compositions, and one could realize at a first hearing that if only this harmonic system was more familiar to the average listener, one could have enjoyed it thoroughly. But that "if" is a big "if", and it means discussing the whole harmonic system Schönberg has evolved. This work contains 935 bars and is divided into four movements: I. *Allegro Molto, Energico*. Written in common time (4/4) throughout, it opens with this vigorous theme given to the first violin, followed by a "reply" in the second violin:

Violino I^{mo}
1. *Allegro molto energico* ♩ = 152



2. V. II.

The second subject is probably at bars 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and, as in a classical work, is of a melodious character as opposed to a rhythmical one. Again one notices in the counterpoint played by the viola how the major seventh and the minor ninth come together. Then, at bar 42, the second violin gives out an important new subject, and at bars 48, 49, the first violin plays what I should have imagined to be an accompanying figure, but is marked by the author as a leading part. The "bugbear" of the minor ninth and the major seventh appears again at bars 50, 51. We find it thus:

60



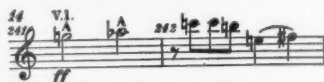
at bar 77 starts a new subject *pp* played by the first violin with a cello counterpart, and bar 94 gives us this in the second violin and viola, marked principal part:



It may have a logical reason of sound which I am unable to detect but, curiously enough, it sounds quite Wagnerian—of *The Ring* period. This brings back the first subject given to the cello, but “inverted” this time:



At bar 116 appears a new theme on the viola, taken up by the second violin at 122 and inverted, then taken up by the cello at 128 (but altered), leading to a climax worked out from all the preceding material, and at bar 239 bringing back again the first subject in the cello (*Poco meno mosso* 239/240), but only for two bars this time, followed by the inverted answer of it in the first violin:



This gradually softens down to a “singing” version of the theme at bar 254, and to a *calando* at bar 270. It concludes with eleven bars of *Tempo I* and *ff*. The harmonies (?) of the last three bars of this movement are worth looking at, and are seen to be made up from



the melodic notes of the first 2 bars of the theme, being therefore logical as every note of Schönberg is. This final chord is not what might be called kind to the ear, but is made up with the notes of bars 8 and 9 (last two bars of the first theme). Of course, it may be argued that notes which make up a melodic phrase, do not necessarily make a harmony.

2nd Movement.—This is based on a sort of *Ländler* rhythm (heavy but graceful waltz "à la Brahms") the tune is given to the viola thus:



after conversing with the first violin till bar 306 when a more rigid atmosphere is created by the three lower strings, the viola being "principal". This conversation becomes general, adorned with "tricky harmonics . . . à la Schönberg" (as we see them all over the Violin Concerto) and then the cello has a "plaintive" motif with complicated arpeggio accompaniment. The middle section may be taken as the "Trio" of a Minuet and varies between 2/2 and 4/4 bars: the "coda" at bar 592 brings back the first subject, this time played by the first violin *pp*, and "fizzles out" in a very delicate way at the end. This is a movement we might certainly call "elegant".

But not so with the 3rd Movement, *Largo*, and starting in unison thus:

III movt.
20 *Largo* $\text{♩} = 78$
619 V.I. & II. AA 618
619 *ppoco accel.* 619 *a tempo* 617 619
Viola
Cello
f
etc.
etc.

H. 8

a lyrical development based on the second subject of bars 630-635 leads up to the exact inversion of the first four bars of unison, and the movement ends quietly *pp*.

4th Movement.—After ten bars of an "amabile" given to the first violin



the movement goes into a second subject in a 6/8 *agitato*, then at bar 726 it returns to the first subject inverted and given to the second violin, then the cello plays a third short subject at bar 733, and at bar 740 a mixture of 12/8 and 6/4 working simultaneously is curious, and leads to the *Poco meno agitato* of bar 733, based on the first subject, but deformed. From bar 846 we have a very delicate section of 6 bars *ppp* with principal cello, followed by a more violent section till bar 862.

There is a development with *Col legno*, *ponticello* and all the devices Schönberg is so fond of, until the first subject of this movement comes back *ppp* (889), and the movement ends *pp* and *calando* at bar 935 in this way:



Thus, in spite of all its rhythmic vigour, the work remains morbid and sickly because of the chromatic system used by Schönberg, and that is where his real nature comes through. There is never any "hope for the soul" sort of feeling that music can infuse in a listener, and which should be based on a "natural" harmonic material of sound as well as a fine rhythmical structure.

To explain my meaning you want to look at the score of this work, and you will see that Schönberg is always using the diminished ninth or the major seventh, in other words the semi-tone below and above the octave; this is what produces the "sickly" feeling I talk

about. But when all is said about harmonic "systems", and the material in use resulting from these harmonic systems, it is left to the composer to make *his* meaning heard and felt. For instance, one can see Alban Berg using the same harmonic system as Schönberg, but producing an entirely different atmosphere *in spite of* the "morbid and sickly" material. He had so much "genuine passion" in his nature that he simply shows he is a "romantic" composer, and whatever harmonic material he would have used, his meaning would have been the same. But with Schönberg we find in his recent works the same morbidity as in his early ones, which were of course based on a "rational" harmonic-pseudo-chromatic post-Wagner material. (See his early String Sextet.) But perhaps Schönberg carries with him the whole morbidity of his race, and wishes to express it in his works. If this is the case, we can heartily admire the way he has done it, for it would be hard to find a more "thorough worker" and sincere artist than he is.

The Quartet is published by G. Schirmer, Inc., New York, and is obtainable through Chappell's.

More Early Mozart Editions

BY

PAUL HIRSCH

(Cf. MUSIC REVIEW, Vol. I, pp. 54-67.)

When in 1909 my late friend Oscar G. Sonneck, the eminent American scholar and bibliographer, came to see me at my former home, we had a long discussion on bibliographical matters. I can well remember one of us remarking that a number of musicologists, though making continuous use of the existing music bibliographies, considered the compiling work of the bibliographer as of secondary importance. I was not surprised therefore when, before leaving me, Sonneck wrote the following lines in my *album amicorum*:

*Im Anfang war - die Bibliographie
Der Herren Musikhistoriker ino Stammbuch.
O S Sonneck
Frankfurt ¹⁰/₁₄ Juli 5, 1909*

This quotation may perhaps be considered an appropriate answer to some recent criticism of bibliographical articles. It seems to me that the particular subject dealt with in musical bibliography is of little consequence; so long as the research is reliable and the result gives new information about any composer or other subject, the work will be of value.

If to-day I add a few items to my first list this may well appear superfluous to some scholars and readers. I shall not, however, venture further than to offer some miniature remarks, or to make known a small number of "discoveries" of editions of outstanding works. In accordance with the views expressed above, it is felt that even the smallest contribution towards a fuller knowledge of Mozart should not be withheld.

Abbreviations.—K. III=Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozarts . . . von Dr. Ludwig Ritter von Köchel. Third edition, edited and enlarged by Alfred Einstein. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937.

pl.-no. = Plate-number.

The end of each line in the lettering on the title-page is denoted by the sign " /".

I. *Don Giovanni* (K. No. 527). *The first edition of the full score.*

It is common knowledge that the full score of *Don Giovanni* was first published by Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, in 1801, in two

volumes, obl. 4to, 590 pages.¹ The first engraved title-page is adorned by an oval vignette, designed by (V. G.) Kinneringer and engraved by F. R. Bolt; it shows a very youthful Don Giovanni struggling with the statue of the Commendatore.² The second title-page is set in type, like all the rest of the score. The text is given in Italian and German, the German translation being by Friedr. Rochlitz. So far everything seems to be clear. But, a short time ago, Mr. E. H. W. Meyerstein drew my attention to the fact that he had seen in the British Museum a copy of the score containing a specially added libretto of the German translation. He wanted to know whether this libretto formed part of the original edition, or was inserted at a later period. I could state without difficulty that the Library of Congress at Washington too possesses a copy of the score containing the separate libretto³ and, a few weeks ago, I was able to acquire one myself. The libretto in question consists of XIV pages in the oblong format of the score. On top of the first page it bears this title:

"Don Juan / Oper in zwei Akten. / Nach dem Italienischen des Abb. da Ponte frei bearbeitet."

followed on the same page by a "Vorerinnerung", signed "Friedrich Rochlitz" and ending with the words:

"Die Druckfehler in der deutschen Unterlegung wird man nach dem hier folgenden Abdruck verbessern".

The quality of the paper used for the libretto differs from that used for the score. The "Vorerinnerung" seems to prove that the libretto was inserted for the purpose of correcting the misprints in the text. Furthermore the fact that each page of the added libretto is divided up into three vertical columns makes it appear very likely that the setting of an existing libretto, printed as usual in small 8vo, was used for the inserted version. We are informed by O. v. Hase⁴ that a libretto of Rochlitz's translation of Don Giovanni was published in 1801 or 1802, but so far I have not been able to trace a copy. It can hardly be doubted that the publishers made use of this libretto when they arranged for the printing of the extra XIV

¹ Cf. K. III, p. 676, and Katalog d. Musik-Bibl. Paul Hirsch, II, No. 645.

² Reproduced in L. Schiedermair, *Die Briefe Mozarts*. . . Munich, 1914, Vol. V, plate 94.

³ O. G. Th. Sonneck, Library of Congress. *Dramatic Music. Catalogue of Full Scores*, Washington, 1908, p. 117: "In this copy XIV pages of German text precede the second act".

⁴ Breitkopf & Härtel, *Gedenkschrift*, Leipzig, 1917, Vol. I, p. 209: "Härtel druckte . . . 1801 und 1802, J. Thomsons, *The Seasons im Hinblick auf Haydns Jahreszeiten*, Fr. Rochlitzens *Uebersetzung des Textes zu Mozarts Don Juan und Shakespeares Othello* bearbeitet von Schubert mit Melodien von Zumsteeg".

pages for the score. The firm of Breitkopf & Härtel may well have a copy of the 8vo libretto in their archives, but, to verify this, we shall have to wait until after the war.

In K. III, pp. 910-917 Alfred Einstein gives a most valuable compilation of all the editions of the "Collected Works" of Mozart (*Gesamt-Ausgaben*). The firm of Breitkopf was among the first publishers to start (in 1800) an edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*. This task was not accomplished. Whereas the first part, "Musique pour le Pianoforte" was completed in 17 "cahiers", the second part, "Partitions", only embraced four works, amongst them as No. 1, the *Requiem* (K. 626) and as No. 2, *Don Giovanni*. I always doubted that the full score mentioned in K. III, p. 912, as part of the *Oeuvres* had indeed been printed separately; it appeared more likely that the "first edition" and the *Oeuvres* edition were identical with the exception of the jacket. It is now possible to state that the latter assumption proves to be correct. Mr. Otto Haas in London has a copy of the score with the familiar green jackets (the same as those used for the 17 cahiers of Piano music) with the following title printed on this green outside cover:

"Oeuvres de Mozart / Don Juan / Opéra comique en deux Actes / Acte I (II.) / N° 2 des Partitions."

The score itself corresponds exactly with the other copies and bears the same imprint; however, it does not contain the XIV pages of the added libretto.

An examination of the first volumes of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, published during the period 1798-1848 by Breitkopf & Härtel, and edited by F. Rochlitz for the first 20 years, gives the following results:

Vol. II, Aug., 1800, *Intelligenzblatt* XVII, advertises the coming publication of the *Don Giovanni* full score as "Partituren No. II".

Vol. III, Dec., 1800, *Intelligenzbl.* IV, tells again of the coming publication of the score without mentioning that it forms part of the series "Partitions", but stating that it will be issued in the same format and style as the just published score of the *Requiem* (i.e. Partitions No. 1).

Vol. III, July, 1801, *Intelligenzbl.* XI, gives the information that the edition has now been published. The note is headed: "Mozarts, Sämmtliche Werke": and the title of the score is preceded by the words: "Partituren. No. 2".

So it can be definitely stated that the first edition of the *Don*

Giovanni full score was printed but once and in one form only; it has, however, been issued in three different ways:

1. 1801, without the added German libretto of XIV pages;
2. 1801 simultaneously with No. 1, as "No. 2 des Partitions" in the series "Oeuvres complètes" undertaken by Breitkopf, with green outside covers;
3. somewhat later; XIV pages of libretto were added to some, or the remaining stock, of the copies.

II. *Don Giovanni* (K. No. 527). Piano-score by C. Zulehner-Schott.

In K. III, p. 676, it is stated that the earliest complete piano-score of *Don Giovanni* was published by Simrock and arranged by Chr. C. Neefe; it bears the pl.-no. 42 and was issued c. 1797.⁵ When I informed my friend Einstein of some of the new facts recorded below, he made the following alterations in the Supplement to K. III⁶: *a.* the words "der älteste" referring to Simrock's piano-score to be deleted. *b.* Mainz, Schott (Zulehner), V.-Nr. 138. "Nach Gerber NL 1793 erschienen, doch vielleicht schon zu Lebzeiten Mozarts begonnen."

The Schott-Zulehner piano-score, in oblong 4to, engraved throughout, has the following title, surrounded by an oval framework with an ornamental foliage design:

Jl / Dissoluto Punito / o Sia / IL D. Giovanni / Dramma giocoso / La Musica del Signore Wolffgango Mozard. (!) / messa per il Piano Forte / Del Carlo Zulehner. / N° 138. Presso B. Schott in Magonza. Fl. 10.

The name "Zulehner" appears on the right-hand bottom corner of the title-page of my copy and is no doubt in the handwriting of the editor.

The following leaf has on recto a list of "Subscribenten" and on verso "Verzeichnis der Stücke". The next leaf is blank on recto and lists the "Personen" on verso, the music starts on p. 3 with the "Ouverture di Giovanni" and ends on p. 207. The pl.-no. 138 appears throughout on every leaf of the score. The text is given in Italian and German.⁷ Arias Nos 11 & 23, and the Duetto

⁵ Cf. A. Einstein, *Mozartiana und Köcheliana*, MUSIC REVIEW, II, p. 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁷ The first performance of *Don Giovanni* in German took place on 13th March, 1789, at Mainz (a relevant point in view of the interest taken in this opera by Zulehner and Schott). For this performance a translation by Heinr. Gottl. Schmieder was used. I cannot ascertain during the war if the very unsatisfactory German translation in Zulehner's score is, as I assume, Schmieder's; but I can state that it is neither the one used by Neefe-Schröder, nor by F. Rochlitz. The latter version was probably not finished before 1800.

"Per queste tue manine" which were composed later are not included in the score; Masetto's Aria No. 6 is also missing—this proves that the earliest version of the opera was used by Zulehner.⁸

Gerber's Neues Lexikon, Vol. III (1813), gives 1793 as the date of publication for this edition. The firm of Schott informed me in 1938 that they had in their archives only a later edition of the score, published by them in 1803, without the list of subscribers.

It was a surprise when in examining my copy I found amongst the "Subscribenten"

"Herr Mozart, kaiserl. Kapellmeister in Wien".

This entry is interesting from several points of view. If Mozart had subscribed to this edition, it of course cannot have been started later than 1791.

But some more questions are raised. The now famous firm of Schott began to operate in the eighteenth century on a moderate scale; besides engraving and publishing many works of minor contemporary composers, they occasionally pirated works of the great classics. This method of doing "business" was then practised to a greater or lesser degree by publishing firms in every country. A famous case of piracy was the publication of Abbé Starck's piano-score of Mozart's *Entführung* in 1785.⁹

Karl Zulehner does not seem to have been too scrupulous as to editing unauthorised piano-scores and other arrangements of famous compositions. He was born at Mainz in 1770 and still lived there in 1835 as "Orchesterdirektor". The contemporary music dictionaries praise him as a good musician and able compiler of arrangements. In modern dictionaries, if they mention him at all, he generally gets the epithet "notorious". It appears to be more than likely that Zulehner was the composer of the spurious Mozart Mass K. Anh. 232, published in full score by Simrock about 1821.¹⁰ Eitner,¹¹ always very outspoken, says of Zulehner: "Ein schlimmer Nachdrucker, der nur vom Raub lebte, man nannte ihn spottweise den 'Nachstecher'. Hatte in Mainz sein Raubnest". As already stated, his contemporaries do not seem to have regarded Zulehner as such a disreputable person. In Grove's Dictionary, 2nd edition, Vol. III (1907), p. 313-14, Russell Martineau deals with Mozart's spurious Masses; this article has not been reproduced in the later editions of Grove. On p. 314 Martineau says when dealing with

⁸ Cf. K. III, p. 675.

⁹ Cf. MUSIC REVIEW, I, p. 56, footnote.

¹⁰ Cf. K., III, p. 875.

¹¹ Buch- & Musikalienhändler, Leipzig, 1904, p. 248.

Zulehner: "Z. was well acquainted with Mozart". I have not been able to trace where he got this information, but, although not a musicologist, R. M. was a scholar of highest standing,¹² and it is evident that he must have had reliable information to make this statement. It is most likely that Mozart, when playing in a concert for the Elector at Mainz in October, 1790, met Zulehner; but the latter is not mentioned anywhere in Mozart's or his family's letters. Would it be unreasonable to suggest that Zulehner—and Schott—asked Mozart during his visit to Mainz if he would allow them to publish a piano-score of his famous opera, and that Mozart agreed and was even ready to add his name to the list of subscribers? (It may be mentioned here that Artaria & Co. of Vienna, Mozart's friends and foremost publishers, are mentioned in the list as subscribing for 8 copies!) If this cannot be proved at present, it nevertheless seems very probable. In my opinion there cannot be a doubt that the Zulehner-Schott edition is not only previous to the Neefe-Simrock one, but that it is the first complete piano-score of *Don Giovanni*—and it may very possibly be the first "authorised" score of the opera.

III. *Le Nozze di Figaro* (K. 492). *Some unrecorded Artaria editions.*

I am much obliged to the Hon. Lady Darwin of Cambridge for allowing me to publish the details of a volume of old piano-music in her possession. She has informed me that this volume was the property of her great-aunt, Mrs. Claudius Rich, and that it was bound in Baghdad about 1820. The volume in oblong quarto contains piano-arrangements of works by Cherubini, Cimarosa and Mozart. At the beginning there are parts of a vocal score of Cherubini's opera *Faniska*, published by Artaria at Vienna in 1790-91. Cimarosa's overture *Il Matrimonio Segreto* is to be found at the end of the volume and forms part of a *Collection choisie d'ouvertures*, published in Paris and Milan. The Mozart works are:

- a. Ariette avec Variations (K. 265-300e), published by Artaria, Vienna, pl.-no. 110.¹³
- b. Parts of a piano-score of *Nozze di Figaro*, all but one published by Artaria.

As the latter are apparently unrecorded, a bibliographical description might be useful:

¹² Cf. DNB. Suppl., Vol. III (1901), pp. 150-51.

¹³ Originally published in 1787; the present copy has besides the pl.-no. 110 some more pl.-nos., up to 805, on the title-page. This proves that this particular copy was not issued before 1799.

1. Ouvertura / per il Clavicembalo / dell' Opera / Le Nozze di Figaro / del Sig^r Mozart /

Jn Vienna presso Artaria et Comp. (4 f) [handwritten]. 30 X^r; 10 pages, 1 leaf (blank), pl.-no. 752 (on p. 5 pl.-no. 708, altered in ink to 752).—Besides the numbering 2–10, there is a further numbering 34–42 at the bottom of the plates, which may mean that the overture was also published as part of a collection of overtures or piano-music.

2. Aria dell' Opera Le Nozze di Figaro. / del Sig^{re} W. A. Mozart. / Jn Vienna presso Giovanni Cappi. / N° 5. (No separate title-page; title on top of p. 1.) 5 pages, pl.-no. 261.

This is Figaro's Aria No. 9 Non più andrai; text Italian and German.

3. Duetto / Sú l'Aria che Soave Zeffiretto / per il Clavicembalo / ricavata dall' Opera / Le Nozze di Figaro. / del Sig^r Mozart / Raccolta d'Arie N° 225.

Jn Vienna presso Artaria & Comp. / 45 X; 5 pages, pl.-no. 225.

This is Duetto Nr. 20, Susanna and Contessa.

4. Rondo / Al desio di chi t' adora / per il Clavicembalo / ricavato dall' Opera / Le Nozze di Figaro. / del Sig^r Mozart / Raccolta d'Arie N° 230.

A Vienna presso Artaria et Comp. 20 X; 9 pages, pl.-no. 230.

This is the Aria K. 577 which was composed in 1789, three years after the opera was completed. It was formerly supposed to belong to the part of the Contessa, until A. Einstein showed in K. III, p. 727, that it was meant to be sung by Susanna in the place of Nr. 27 "Deh vieni". It is interesting to note that the present Artaria edition gives correctly "Susanna" as the singer of the aria. The Simrock-Neeffe piano-score, published in 1796, gives the aria as an appendix No. 30 and ascribes it to the Contessa, so does Simrock's full score, published in 1819; here the aria is printed as a supplement and also marked "La Contessa".

5. Duetto/Crudel perché fin' ora / per il Clavicembalo / ricavato dall' Opera / Le Nozze di Figaro / Del Sig^r Mozart. / Raccolta d'Arie N° 226.

A Vienna presso Artaria e Comp. 30 X; 7 p., pl.-no. 226.

This is Duetto Nr. 16, Susanna and Conte.

6. Duetto / Tutto é tranquillo e placido / per il Clavicembalo / ricavato dall' Opera / Le Nozze di Figaro / del Sig^r Mozart. / Raccolta d'Arie No. 228.

À Vienna presso Artaria et Comp. / 30 X; 12 pages,
1 leaf (blank), pl.-no. 228.

This is Duetto Susanna and Figaro from the Finale Nr. 28.

The overture, Nr. 1, can be dated as issued in 1798; No. 2, published by Cappi, after 1800; Nos. 3-6, c. 1795. The latter form part of Artaria's *Raccolta d'Arie*. Unfortunately no complete list of this collection seems to be recorded; we are, however, able to trace one or two more items from this "Raccolta", e.g. Arie in *Don Giovanni*, numbered 57-62, and published in 1790-91, and in *Die Zauberflöte*, numbered 95-116, and published in 1791-93. As it is unlikely that Artaria slowed down his publication of "Arie" it can be safely assumed that the Nos. 3-6 in this volume were issued about 1795.

The firm of Artaria to whom we are indebted for so many finely engraved first editions of Mozart's works, was unlucky with the publication of piano-scores of his operas. The *Don Giovanni* and *Zauberflöte* piano-scores which had been begun in 1790 and 1791 respectively were never finished. As to *Nozze di Figaro*, the Vienna publishers do not appear to have been any more fortunate with that; it is doubtful if any further numbers of the score, besides the 6 recorded here, were issued by Artaria until a much later date. A Catalogue of the firm (of which there is a copy in my library): "Verzeichniss des Musik-Verlags von Artaria & Comp. . . . Wien, 1837" does not contain a complete piano-score of *Figaro*, but mentions on p. 75 the overture and the five further items recorded above (including No. 2).

The added handwritten price of 4 f. on the title-page of the overture may well mean that the whole set of 6 numbers was sold together at this price.

K. III, p. 625, informs us that in 1796-97 Breitkopf published a piano-score (also quoted by Gerber) of the opera, but of that no copy is known. The first complete piano-score is supposed to be the one by Neefe, published in 1796 by Simrock at Bonn. It is most likely that Artaria's edition of some of the "Arie" preceded Simrock's. As has been shown in my first article—cf. MUSIC REVIEW, I, p. 62 ff.—some of Rellstab's piano-arrangements were issued still earlier.

If we consider that the *Nozze di Figaro* was first performed in May, 1786 (Vienna, Burgtheater), it is astonishing to find that it took as long as ten years to publish a complete piano-score and that even single arias were apparently not issued in print before 1790-91.

Anton Bruckner: Simpleton or Mystic?

BY

GEOFFREY SHARP

WHETHER we agree with Sören Kierkegaard that "genius, like thunder, always comes up against the wind" is unimportant. Restricting the issue to an exclusively musical sphere and equating the wind to public reaction, there is ample material to lend very considerable support to the *dictum*. The financial difficulties of Mozart, Schubert and Wolf: the domestic troubles of Beethoven, Berlioz, Schumann and Delius: the executive millstones that perpetually hampered Mahler and Busoni—it is as idle to dismiss all these hindrances as trivial as it would be to suggest that the lives of the musical (or any other) *canaille* inevitably proceed smoothly and evenly towards their ultimate nadir of puny insignificance. It may be objected that Haydn, Mendelssohn and Sibelius afford notable exceptions—the first-named is in fact one of the exceptions that prove the rule—but it did not need more than an overdose of gentility to steal Mendelssohn's thunder, while inspiring evidence of Sibelius' struggle with and mastery of refractory elements is to be found in the Fourth Symphony and *The Bard*, and in the Seventh Symphony and *Tapiola*: two pairs of complementary works.

Before investigating the results of Anton Bruckner's creative work on these lines we may as well give a brief outline of the essentially simple facts of his life, and then try to form some estimate of his character.

He was born at Ansfelden in Upper Austria on September 4th, 1824, two and a half years before the death of Beethoven. His father and grandfather were both village schoolmasters, and the composer himself was originally destined for this career which would include the practice of church and school music. After his father's death in 1837 Bruckner went to the *Volkschule* in the little village of St. Florian, where he was taught music by Kattinger, the organist of the Institute, by the principal choirmaster Schäffler, and by Gruber. In 1840 he went to a so-called *Präparandenschule* in Linz, and in 1841 became a pupil-teacher at Windhaag on the Malsch: two years later he obtained appointments at Kronsdorf, Ems and Steyr. In 1845 he became assistant teacher in St. Florian, and after three more years succeeded Kattinger as organist. It was not until

he was thirty-two that he became organist of the cathedral at Linz and thus finally forsook teaching for music. Even now he spent several weeks of every year in Vienna studying theory under Sechter, and after 1861 transferred his attention to modern composition under the guidance of Otto Kitzler. His provincial period ended with the first performance of his C minor Symphony in Linz on 9th May, 1868, and the composition of his Masses in F minor and E minor.

Through the influence of Johann Herbeck, director of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Bruckner was appointed teacher of theory and organ at the *Conservatoire* in Vienna, and took up his new post in the autumn. Three years later he became a professor, and in 1875 undertook a lectureship in theory at the University. His work in Vienna, where he took service in the court chapel and became vice-librarian and second singing teacher to the choristers, was only interrupted by visits to Bayreuth and other German towns where his works were performed: and especially by a journey to Nancy and Paris in 1869 for a series of organ recitals, and to the London Exhibition in 1871, where his remarkable organ playing excited a great deal of attention when he gave five concerts at the Crystal Palace. Otherwise his life was given up to creative work, and in 1891 he resigned his post and went to live in apartments in a wing of the Belvedere granted to him by the Emperor Franz Josef. Such are the bare facts of his life. He died in Vienna on 11th October, 1896.¹

From his fortieth year onwards Bruckner composed three Masses, a *Te Deum* and nine Symphonies, and, though there are other smaller works, it is upon these that his claim to greatness lies. As an aid in estimating this quality a few remarks on the composer's character and general disposition will not come amiss.

Amusing anecdotes of doubtful relevance have done much to establish a wrong impression of Bruckner's personality and outlook, and though we may smile at his tipping Richter a *thaler* for conducting the Fourth Symphony or showing apparently genuine excitement when a practical joker sent him a telegram that the Bulgarians had elected him as their king and were clamouring for his presence, we should not therefore assume that the man was an inherent and incorrigible simpleton. Fundamentally he *was* a simple soul, but in the elemental, not the derogatory sense. Bruckner spent many years of his life in subordinate positions, and this undoubtedly told its tale in the trend of his social behaviour. He did not shine in the

¹ For this brief summary the writer is indebted to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd Edn., Macmillan, 1929.

witty conversations of Viennese artistic circles and may have traded upon his supposed simplicity to avoid becoming entangled in discussions which meant nothing to him. He had in fact a mordant tongue, and Decsey, in his biography of Wolf,² throws some incidental light upon Bruckner's character. A comparatively unknown poet came to listen to Bruckner's setting of his text for men's chorus and ventured to object to several verbal repetitions in the piece. Bruckner retorted: "*Was, Wiederholungen? . . . hätten S' mehr g'dicht!*" It is also illuminating to find that when Weingartner complained that the last movement of the Eighth Symphony was too long, Bruckner in a letter advised him to shorten it considerably for the performance as "it might be too long *and is of value only for later times*", thus implying his conviction that posterity would some day grant him full recognition.³

The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles, perhaps!

For some people Bruckner's religious beliefs provide a stumbling-block. No composer, with the exception of César Franck, has ever been so securely fettered to the organ-loft, and it needs a competent musician to realize that much of Bruckner's music is *organic* in direct proportion to its exclusion of the amateurish faults so often to be found in the inane outpourings of conscientious organists who feel a catastrophic urge for what they euphemistically fancy to be composition. Prejudice against the organ seems to act as a catalyst to prejudice against a presumed religious personality; and a narrow preciosity is assumed where none exists. The dedication of his last Symphony to God is unsophisticated, but does not constitute a crime, and Bruckner is only putting into words what every sincere and genuine artist accepts in some form or other as the basic justification of his own work. He was certainly a devout catholic, but catholicism in this context is not a restricting influence, nor does one have to conform to any narrow religious creed to be able to appreciate either the manifest beauties or the more subtle implications of Bruckner's novel but cogent symphonic style.

He had cultivated no veneer of petty sarcasm or caustic devilment arising from an inner sense of frustration or resentment of public indifference, yet he was by no means insensible to recognition and claimed, typically, on the strength of his Crystal Palace recitals, that in England he was really understood.

² *Hugo Wolf*, Ernst Decsey. Leipzig and Berlin, 1903-6.

³ These two anecdotes are quoted from Albert Maeckenburg's "Hugo Wolf and Anton Bruckner". *The Musical Quarterly*, July, 1938.

Fl

L. 3

Hob.

Klar
in B

Fag.

~~Hr.~~

in F

Hr.

in B

Trp.

in B

F

Pos.

Tuba

Pk.

I

Viol.

II

Br.

Vel.

K.B.

SPECIMEN PAGE FROM THE FIFTH SYMPHONY: FOURTH MOVEMENT

56 *Faster (am Ende geht)*
Lebhaft (3/4)

Fl.
 Oboe
 Clarinet in B \flat
 Bassoon
 Horn in F
 Trumpet in B \flat
 Trombone
 Percussion
 Violin I
 Violin II
 Viola
 Violoncello
 Double Bass

zu 2
 a 2 range
 ff
 f
 mf
 p
 cresc.
 decresc.
 (B-nach-C)
 p uocch

The corrections shown in red are those of the Critical Edition

NINTH SYMPHONY: RETURN FROM TRIO TO SCHERZO-REPEAT

FL I
Fl. I
I.
Ob.
II, III
Klar.
in B
Fag.
I, II
Pos.
III.
Btb.
Pk.
I.
Viol.
II.
Br.
Vcl.
Kb.

Fl. I

Ob. II

I. Klar. in B

II. III.

Fag. I

I. Viol.

II. Viol.

Br.

Vel.

ohne Dämpfer

pizz.

get. pizz.

get. pizz.

pizz.

The corrections shown in red are those of the Critical Edition

We must accept him as a psychological phenomenon. In mundane affairs he was consistently naïve and extraordinarily insensitive to the random vagaries and kaleidoscopic facets of everyday existence. The following bare delineation of the nature of his music will have served its purpose if it suggests that there is another side to the man and that the insight and imagination shown by his sense of form, feeling for orchestral colour and instinctively towering gradation of climaxes,⁴ provide indubitable proof of his musical genius.

The two full-page quotations here appended from the fourth movement of the Fifth Symphony and the second of the Ninth should give some indication of the extensive discrepancies that are to be found between the earlier "edited" versions and the new edition of the Complete Works of Bruckner.⁵ Dr. Egon Wellesz has recently shed some light on this subject, and the following extract states clearly the position that led to the production of a new Critical Edition.

On July 14th, 1892, Bruckner . . . signed a contract with the firm of Jos. Eberle & Co., of Vienna, for his First, Second, Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. . . . In as much as Eberle & Co. were chiefly a music-engraving firm and did not handle sales of publications, these works of Bruckner's were delivered to and put on sale by the firm of C. Haslinger. . . . A few years later they were transferred from Eberle & Co. to that firm's successors, Waldheim-Eberle, also of Vienna, from whom Universal Edition took over the rights on June 21st, 1910.

Bruckner's Third Symphony and the *Te Deum* were first brought out by Th. Rättig of Vienna. By an agreement dated July 13th, 1901, Universal Edition acquired a joint sales right for these works by which they could list them in their catalogue and offer them for sale. When the Rättig Press was bought out by Schlesinger-Lienau of Berlin, Universal Edition still retained these sales rights, and then in 1909 obtained from

⁴ The conductor Oswald Kabasta, well known for the extremes of dynamic contrast in which he indulges, has somewhat naturally adopted Bruckner's symphonies as one of his enthusiasms.

⁵ *Anton Bruckner. Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe im Auftrage der Generaldirektion der Nationalbibliothek und der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft*, edited by Robert Haas and Alfred Orel. Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, Vienna and Leipzig. At the time of writing the following full orchestral scores are available in the Critical Edition: First Symphony (Linz Edn.), Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, the D minor *Requiem* (1849) and the *Missa Solemnis* in B (1854). No volumes have reached England since August, 1938, and although Furtwängler has already performed the Eighth Symphony from the *Urfassung*, the score is still apparently unpublished. There are miniature scores of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, and of the D minor *Requiem*. The writer is indebted to Paul Hirsch for bibliographical assistance and for the opportunity of consulting the extant volumes of this Critical Edition.

C. Haslinger of the Vienna branch of Schlesinger-Lienau the entire rights for these works as well as for the Eighth Symphony which had been published previously by Haslinger.

Bruckner's Fifth and Seventh Symphonies were published by the firm of A. Guttmann in Vienna. Universal Edition eventually came into possession of these works also when they purchased the entire business of the Guttmann firm.

Between 1924 and 1927 all these scores appeared in an edition revised by Joseph von Wöss, which had been made according to the parts and scores in the archives of the Wiener Konzertverein, bearing the indications for performance of Ferdinand Löwe.⁶

It is not surprising in view of this general post that spurious versions, incorporating unauthorized or at least unimaginative editorial glosses, became accepted as genuine Bruckner. This is not to imply that there was any unscrupulous exploitation by musical pirates, except in one particular sense—the Wagnerian sense; and even so the editors Josef and Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe have this to be said for them—that they meant well. Through these associates and perhaps also Hugo Wolf, Bruckner became to some extent the dupe of an all-consuming and very distorted Wagnerian perspective; an illusion that to have any permanent value a symphony must include as many *Tristanesque longueurs* and *Götterdämmerung* climaxes as possible. Quite probably Bruckner himself was no more than half convinced of the wisdom of this, but unfortunately where he only doubted he acquiesced! Apart from what we may call the inner circle of fervent admirers, few musicians can have had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with Bruckner's original manuscripts, and the majority must have depended upon the piano versions of these well-meaning editors for such enlightenment as could be derived therefrom. However that may be, it is extremely unlikely that many would be able to recreate the vitally glowing effects of Bruckner's orchestration from any pianoforte reduction by whomsoever it was made. In this respect conditions have lately improved, and *Ur-Bruckner* is now being made available for the satisfaction of the curious.

Fully twenty pages of Wellesz's article are relevant here (see note 6), and give a clear and concise account of the differences between the Critical and the earlier editions. A reading of this analysis together with a study of the scores will do much to dispel

⁶ "Anton Bruckner and the Process of Musical Creation". Egon Wellesz. *The Musical Quarterly*, July, 1938. Dr. Wellesz expresses his thanks to the management of the Universal Edition for permitting him to examine the contracts dealing with Bruckner's Symphonies, thus enabling him to state clearly these complicated contractual relations.

the traditional misconception of Bruckner's music as being composed of bleeding chunks of pseudo-Wagnerian butcher's meat strung together by means of the dramatic hiatus—wittily paraphrased by a well-known scholar in the words—"I pause for a reply".

A systematic study of the works would be out of place in an essay of this kind, but one or two salient characteristics may be dealt with appropriately.

Bruckner's finest music is consistent in this respect, that it demands prolonged concentration and a receptive frame of mind accompanied by a constantly vigilant and sensitive imagination. Let us examine the first paragraph of the Fourth Symphony as an illustration.



The first phase, shown in short score in example 3, has been described as one of the most magical openings in all symphonic literature, and as if to clinch this opinion, Wellesz has compared it with the arrogant, striding gesture that gives Brahms' Symphony in F its initial impetus. In this work Bruckner magically creates the strangely tense aura of mastery that inevitably permeates the music of genius and envelops the imaginative listener who in this instance may be forgiven if he feels that a mystic purposefulness is more evident than any romantic nostalgia.

To the writer at least many passages in this Fourth Symphony and much of the Ninth tend to emphasize, in this new Critical Edition, Bruckner's mystic expression of deliberate striving, at the expense of the frequently turgid romanticism that exuded from so many pages of the earlier scores: but not from the opening sweep of the Seventh Symphony where even in the *ersatz* edition Bruckner has most successfully poured new musical wine of matchless quality

into the old tonic-dominant bottle. To quote Wellesz again:

... the beginning of the *Allegro Moderato* in the Finale of the Fifth Symphony is scored in the Universal Edition for one clarinet, *forte*:



In the revised score one flute, one oboe and two clarinets are employed *piano*. The sound of the former is shrill and almost grotesque, while that of the latter is excellent.



In addition the long pause is abandoned and the connection with the following theme is effected by means of a *tremolo* which, although almost imperceptible, nevertheless fills in the empty gap.

It would require too much space to mention all the changes in orchestration in detail. Whoever is interested can easily investigate them himself.

... The alterations were made chiefly . . .

- (1) to lighten the masses of tone,
- (2) to strengthen the voices carrying the melody,
- (3) to support the strings by wood-wind instruments, and
- (4) to soften the brass.

It should be unnecessary to postulate any such defence as this; but the present *régime* in Germany has made a political gambit of the Critical Edition and, as we know only too well, what the politician says is not evidence. In addition, as Professor Deutsch has pointed out, other composers may be more deserving of scholarly research than Bruckner—Haydn for instance. But these minor irritations should not make us ungrateful for the work which is now being done on the Bruckner scores and which in any case would have had to be done in due course.

A few hours spent browsing among the various volumes combined with concentrated listening to a representative selection of the gramophone records listed at the end of this article—but only on a *really first-class* reproducer—should do much to elucidate the complex nature of Bruckner's genius which is most clearly evident in his choral music. His E minor Mass is as individual as Verdi's *Requiem* or Delius' *A Mass of Life*, neither of which it resembles any more than they resemble each other.

This should be enough "writing on the wall" to convince the reader that Bruckner was no simpleton at least in his dealings with

the higher values of life; his mysticism is latent on page after page of his most inspired music—in itself an irrefutable indication of the depth of his elephantine genius: a depth to which the Critical Edition is adding lucidity.

Appendix

THE RECORDS

(Note.—Only the more important complete recordings are listed here. Others, mostly older and inferior, can be found in *The Gramophone Shop Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music*.)

*Symphony No. 4 in E flat major. (The Romantic.)**

The Dresden State Opera Orchestra conducted by Karl Böhm.

His Master's Voice DB 4450-57.

Symphony No. 5 in B flat major.

The Dresden State Opera Orchestra conducted by Karl Böhm.

His Master's Voice DB 4486-94.

Symphony No. 5 in B flat major.

The Hamburg Philharmonic State Orchestra conducted by Eugen Jochum.

Telefunken E 2672-80.

Symphony No. 9 in D minor.

The Munich Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Siegmund von Hausegger.

His Master's Voice DB 4515-21.

The above are all made from the new Critical Edition.

Symphony No. 7 in E major.

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Eugen Jochum.

Telefunken SK 3000-07.

*Symphony No. 7 in E. major.⁷**

The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra conducted by Eugene Ormandy.

His Master's Voice DB 2626-32; DBS 2633.

Symphony No. 7 in E major.

The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Carl Schuricht.

German Polydor 67195-67202.

Mass No. 2 in E minor.⁸

Aachen Cathedral Choir with Wind Players of the State Orchestra conducted by T. B. Rehmann.

His Master's Voice DB 4525-30.

* Withdrawn from Catalogue on 31st October, 1939.

⁷ This recording, typically American, is coarse, shallow and very loud. Not recommended.

⁸ The general effect of these records is flabby and lifeless. The choral intonation is frequently at fault, the first side being particularly bad in this respect. Recently withdrawn from Catalogue.

Mass No. 2 in E minor.

Hamburg State Opera Choir and Orchestra conducted by Max Thurn.
Telefunken E 2607-II.

Overture in G minor.

The Queen's Hall Orchestra conducted by Sir Henry Wood.
Decca X 192-3.

String Quintet in F major.

The Prisca Quartet with S. Meincke (second viola).
Decca X 220-5.

The B.B.C. Cambridge Concerts

It is a pleasure to be able to chronicle a series of six concerts of modern flavour in the Arts Theatre, Cambridge. Given at four-weekly intervals beginning on 22nd October, these short but concentrated afternoons of music-making have offered the university and town a diverse and fairly representative series of samples typical of the musical thought of the recent past together with a leavening that is really contemporary.

Among the most interesting items in the first four concerts have been:—

October 22nd. *Tapiola*: Roussel's Fourth Symphony.

November 19th. Busoni's Violin Concerto (Pougnet): the Bartók Divertimento for strings.

December 17th. Bliss' Colour Symphony: Walton's Viola Concerto (Riddle).

January 14th. Khachaturian's Violin Concerto (Rostal): Rawsthorne's Symphonic Studies.

The conductors have been Sir Adrian Boult, Hyam Greenbaum, Arthur Bliss and William Walton, and Clarence Raybould and Alan Rawsthorne, respectively.

The Arts Theatre is not ideal for full orchestra, being too small and inclined to imbue massed string tone with a wiry screech which it does not really (or, at any rate, should not) possess. But the tiny audiences have done no credit to the public which has once more paraded its indifference by staying away in large numbers. Doubtless Thursdays would have been open to many where Wednesdays draw only a few: but philistines prefer the cinema any day of the week, and I do not suppose a change of day would make a difference of thirty tickets. The standard of performance has been high enough to make these concerts an experience well worth while—the Bartók was a particular high-light—and there may be some point in drawing attention to the two remaining dates and summarizing the programmes.

February 11th. Lambert's Piano Concerto (Kentner) and works by Britten, Falla, Gerhard and Milhaud. Conductor, Constant Lambert.

March 11th. Works by Bax, Busoni, Stravinsky and Vaughan Williams. Conductor, Sir Adrian Boult.

G. N. S.

Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries

BY

D. P. WALKER

(Continued from Vol. II, No. 4, page 308.)

The curious conjecture that the Greeks sang to a three note drone is made by only one other writer of this period, Zarlino. The evidence on which he based this theory is so insufficient that²¹⁶ it is unlikely the author of the preface to the *Printemps* would independently make the same deductions from it. The presence of this conjecture in the preface suggests, therefore, that the views on monody and harmony held by the musicians of *musique mesurée* were due to Zarlino's influence.

This method of ensuring the audibility of the text, by using syllabic homophony, restricted the composer considerably less than the monody of the Florentines. He was allowed to use harmony and passing notes. Doni allowed him to use fugue and imitation as well. After his criticism of the "stilo madrigalesco,"²¹⁷ he goes on

²¹⁶ This evidence is as follows (*Ist.*, III, lxxix). First, there were in use at the time he was writing "alcuni Istrumenti antichissimi" which were played with a drone: "quello, che da i Toschani si chiama Sinfonia [hurdy-gurdy]; il quale alcuni vogliono, che fusse la Lira antica", and the bagpipes "nel quale gia si soleua udire due o tre suoni continui accordati insieme consonanti, che nasceuano da due, o tre Pifferi graui; ancora che al presente se ne odi solamente uno, & dapoi si ode un'aria di cantilena, che si fa da un Piffero acuto." Secondly, that the double flutes mentioned by Apuleius were probably played in this way; but, as Apuleius (*Florid.*, III) says that the player "laeuis et dexteris foraminibus, acuto tinnitu et graui bombo, concentum musicum miscuit", there was no reason for supposing that either one or both of the pipes were used as a drone. "Foraminibus", not "foamine", presumably means holes in the sides of the flutes, which would be purposeless in a drone. Thirdly, he had been told of an organ "molto antico" the keyboard of which had very wide keys in the bass and narrow ones in the treble. From this he deduced that the bass was used as a drone and the treble for the melody. Cf. *Sopplimenti*, VIII, ii, where he gives this charming modern example:

Tor-na tor-na nel tuo pa-e-se, tu non fai per me: tu non
fai per me Girommetta, tu non fai per me.

Drone:

²¹⁷ *v. supra*, note 211.

to say that one could:

"Praticare una sorte di melodia, che abbia tutte le perfezioni de'Madrigali, e molto piu, senza quelle imperfezioni; e questa riuscirebbe tale, quando un solo Cantare, o piu cantassero sempre la medesima aria; mentre altri parti differenti, ponghiamo caso, quattro fossero sonate, e non cantate, massime da Viole, e simili Instrumenti, che hanno la tenuta di voce . . . nelle quali acconciamente si potrebbero fare tutti quelli artifizi de fughe, imitationi, ridette, &c., che ora si fanno dalle voci stesse; e cosi non si perderebbe l'intelligenza delle parole, come succede in questi nostri Madrigali e Mottetti".²¹⁸

This does not appear to be a very original suggestion. By Doni's time²¹⁹ solos with a basso continuo accompaniment were by no means uncommon, and all through the sixteenth century polyphonic works were often executed as solos, with the other parts played instrumentally.²²⁰ However a little later he successfully defends himself against this charge of unoriginality:

"Ne si creda gia alcuno, che l'istessa perfezione si trove nelle Musiche odierne, che oggi si cantano ad una voce sola col basso continuo; perche non contengono quegli accoppiamenti di consonanze artificiose, da alcune in poi, che si segnano co' numeri, ne quelli ornamenti di fughe, imitationi &c. ne quella testatura de movimenti ritmici, che io ricerco in questa sorte di melodie; onde possiamo immaginarci quanto riuscirebbono belle, ed eccellenti, mentre queste accompagnate da un solo basso continuo piacciono tanto; e non solo queste, ma i Madrigali cantati da un solo soprano, sonandosi le altre parti con le viole: ancorche tali composizioni non siano fatte per questo; ne detti Soprani contengono spesso tutta la cantilena, e tutto il bel procedere dell'aria."²²¹

He then elaborates this idea, suggesting that, instead of single voices, either the basses and contraltos, or the tenors and sopranos might sing in octaves, even that three voices should sing in a kind of *faux-bourdon*, composed of an octave with the fifth in the middle, or an ordinary 6/3 *faux-bourdon*. Finally, in another treatise he gives a third variation:

"La terza maniera si può ridurre . . . a due sorti almeno; una delle quali sara d'un contrapunto piu rigoroso di nota contra nota, e l'altra d'un piu licenzioso, nel quale si concedano in qualche parte alcune diminuzioni, ch'è la maniera piu praticabile, e vaga di tutte".²²²

All these different variations in the vocal part were to be joined to an instrumental accompaniment adorned with "quelli artifizi

²¹⁸ *Lyra Barberina*, II, 97.

²¹⁹ 1593-1647.

²²⁰ v. Max Schneider, *Die Anfänge des Basso Continuo*, Leipzig, 1918, pp. 54 seq. & passim.

²²¹ *Lyra Barberina*, II, 99.

²²² *Discorso della Ritmopeia de' versi Latini e della melodia de' cori Tragichi*, in *Lyra Barberina*, II, 222, 223.

di fughe, imitazioni, &c.". The last variation was to be used most frequently.

Except perhaps for the *faux-bourdon* variation, these suggestions of Doni appear to be an admirable compromise between the polyphonic tradition and humanism. But, in fact, Doni did not, like the musicians of *musique mesurée*, attempt to combine the virtues of ancient and modern music. He actually believed that these various ways of composing and executing music were an exact imitation of ancient choric and lyric songs.²²³

X

Thus, except for Zarlino and the musicians of *musique mesurée*, the style which the humanists wished to substitute for the ordinary polyphony of the sixteenth century was conditioned by their conception of ancient music.²²⁴ The great majority believed that ancient music was monodic, and the more revolutionary of these, Tyard, Galilei and Mei, insisted that modern music should be so also. We will deal later with this "pro-monody" majority, and discuss first the arguments of the important "anti-monody" minority, Doni and Salinas.

Doni, considering how small this minority was, is remarkably self-confident. Having said that he cannot believe that:

"i concetti antichi fossero tanto semplici, e uniformi, come hanno creduto alcuni, e in particolare il Zarlino, che si persuade, che gl'Instrumenti in quel tempo suonassero sempre un ottava divisa, e la voce del Cantore sola variasse le consonanze, all'usanza delle cornamuse".²²⁵

he remarks complacently:

"anzo ho con gagliardissime ragioni mostrato il contrario; e in particolare con le doppie note, che si usavano, alcune delle quali servivano per

²²³ After the passages quoted on the preceding page, Doni writes: "E di questa fatta tengo assolutamente, che fossero le antiche melodie coriche".

²²⁴ There were, of course, many humanists who did not wish to effect any such radical change of style. Glarean, Vicentino, Artusi, Cerone, all believed that ancient music was monodic, but none of them insisted that modern music should be so. They probably agreed with Mersenne, who, having discussed whether two part music is more pleasant than three part, wrote (*Harm. Univ.*, IV, ii): "Quant aux Grecs, & aux plus anciens, nous ne sçavons pas s'ils chantoient à plusieurs voix, & bien qu'ils ne ioignissent qu'une voix à leurs Instrumens, ils pouvoient neansmoins faire 3 ou plusieurs parties sur la Lyre, comme l'on fait encore aujourd'huy, & une autre avec la voix: ioint que les liures que les Grecs nous ont laissé de leur Musique, ne temoignent pas qu'ils ayent si bien connu & pratiqué la Musique, particulièrement celle qui est à plusieurs parties, comme l'on fait maintenant, & consequemment il n'est pas raisonnable de les prendre pour nos iuges en cette matiere". Zarlino, also, only suggested a more homophonic style; he did not insist on it, and certainly would not have wished to abolish all fugue and imitation.

²²⁵ *Lyra Barberina*, II, 98. As to Zarlino, v. *supra*, note 216.

la voce, ed altre per l'istrumento, e con l'uso antichissimo degli Organi, e degl'istrumenti di molte corde, e con un bel passo di Plutarco, che dimostra, che insino quelli antichissimi Musici, benché si servissero di poche corde, disponevano artificiosamente i concetti non solo con le consonanze, ma anco con le dissonanze, all'uso di oggi".²²⁶

Of these "gagliardissime ragioni" only the last could convince an unbiassed reader. The Greek systems of notation²²⁷ may prove that the instrumental part did not double the voice, but they do not imply the use of more than two parts, nor the use of the imperfect consonances. Indeed for any sort of polyphonic writing it would be an extremely inconvenient kind of notation. The use of organs and many stringed instruments proves nothing, though it is certainly an indication in favour of Doni's thesis. The passage from Plutarch, however, is a very important piece of evidence. On this Westphal, and after him Gevaert, chiefly based their belief that the Greeks used at least a simple form of polyphony.²²⁸ Then, as now, its only weakness as evidence lies in its uniqueness. One short and rather obscure passage is too small a basis for the vast edifice of Greek harmony and counterpoint which Doni constructs. It would, however, provide a useful justification for humanists who might wish to escape the restrictions of monody. Doni seems to have been the first to write about this passage. But earlier humanists may possibly have noticed its significance, since they frequently refer to other parts of Plutarch's *De Musica*.

In another chapter of the *Trattato della Musica Scenica*²²⁹ Doni quotes more authorities in support of this proposition:

"Che gli Antichi ne'Concenti Corici usavano questo stile di far cantare un aria sola; e nelle sinfonie instrumentali non solo mischiavano piu arie, ma si servivano anco delle dissonanze".

For the first part of this proposition he can find evidence in plenty. For the second he can only produce the passage from Plutarch and these few lines from Seneca:²³⁰

"In commissionibus nostris (cioè nelli spettacoli) plus cantorum est (qual voce appresso i Latini comprende anco i Sonatori) quam in Theatris olim spectantium fuit; cum omnes vias ordo canentium implevit, & cavea (i gradi del Teatro) aenotoribus (Sonatori di Trombe, Tromboni, Clarini, &c., come l'intende il Lipsio, o d'Instrumenti di metallo da percuotere,

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *v. supra*, section VIII.

²²⁸ Doni's passage is obviously the same as Westphal's; it occurs in *De Musica*, 19, beginning "Οτι ε'οι παλαιοι ου δε αγνοιαν απείχοντο της τρίτης εν τη σπονδειάζοντι τροπῳ . . ."; *v. Gevaert, Histoire et Théorie de la Musique de l'Antiquité*, Gand, 1875, I, 360, 361.

²²⁹ Cap. xxxvi, in *Lyra Barberina*, II, 102, 103.

²³⁰ *Epist.*, lxxxiv.

come Cimbali, Crotali, e simili) cincta est, & ex pulpito (il palco della Scena) omne tibiurum genus, organorumque consonuit, fit concentus ex dissonis'. Ecco dunque come si facevano Sinfonie strumentali di ogni sorte d'istrumenti, con l'accordo anco delle dissonanze, delle non fece mentione quando parla del coro cantante".

These words, separated from Doni's glosses, do not necessarily imply any use of consonance or dissonance at all. "Ex dissonis" might conceivably mean "out of dissonant sounds", but in the context much the most likely meaning is "out of different qualities of sound".

Doni also discusses this question in another work, the *De Praestantia Musicae Veteris*.²³¹ In the second book of this treatise two characters, Charidorus and Philoponus, argue respectively for and against the "praestantia musicae veteris". The latter opens the argument by trying to prove that Greek music was monodic and therefore inferior to modern music. The proofs that he gives are in fact used frequently by the "pro-monodists", as we shall see. They are as follows.

The ancients did not consider 3rds and 6ths to be consonances, for "auctores veteres quotquot extant omnes atque in his etiam Aristoxenus vester . . . uno consensu, ut audio, ubi consonantias recensent, omnium minimam Diatessaron agnoscunt". They used Pythagorean intonation, "ut a peritissimis Theoricis audivi",²³² and therefore the 3rds and 6ths were in fact dissonant. The popularity of the Chromatic and Enharmonic genera indicates monody, "cum . . . Chromaticum consonantiarum sit valde egenum, multoque magis Enarmonium".²³³ Lastly, a purely negative argument; "minime usquam legimus usitatas apud antiquos fuisse artificiosissimas illas atque ingeniosissimas concentuum componendorum leges, quas nos vulgo Fugas, Imitationes Canones . . . vocitamus".

Charidorus²³⁴ then replies. As for the 3rds and 6ths, although they may have been classified as dissonances, yet they may have been used in practice, just as the moderns call the 4th a dissonance but use it frequently in their compositions. With regard to intonation, there is no evidence that the Greeks used only Pythagorean.²³⁵ As for the genera, they were never used "pure". As evidence, he

²³¹ Io; *Baptistae Doni Patricii Florentini De Praestantia Musicae Veteris libri tres*, Florence, 1647, in *Lyra Barberina*, Tom. I, from which Philoponus' arguments are here quoted, pp. 113-115.

²³² e.g. Galilei, *v. supra*, Vol. II, p. 121.

²³³ cf. *supra*, Vol. II, p. 117.

²³⁴ *Lyra Barb.* I, 119-125.

²³⁵ In stating this, he was quite right; Galilei only claimed that the Pythagorean was the oldest system, and, from an ethical point of view, the best. cf. *supra*, Vol. II, p. 121.

only gives quotations from Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus which prove only that the genera were sometimes used "mixed". The rest of his arguments are the already mentioned ones to do with Greek notation and instruments.

Salinas, the only other "anti-monodist", has even less evidence to bring forward. But his opinion on this matter is of great importance. He was a very erudite and very famous writer; Doni called him "doctissimum illum Hispanum, qui mihi omnium paene instar est".²³⁶ His example shows, therefore, that in spite of the great pro-monody majority it was possible for a good scholar to believe that the Greeks used polyphony. Indeed this majority may have been only apparent. The pro-monody humanists, being extremists and innovators, would be more eager to put their theories into print. That 16th century opinion on this question was in fact more or less equally divided, is suggested by Salinas' introduction to the subject:

"Scio autem dubitari vehementer etiamnum hac aetate inter eximie doctos viros, fuerintne apud veteres huiusmodi cantus plurium vocum, cum apud nullum autorem veterem ququam huius cantus videant inveniri, unde quibusdam non videtur quatuor pluriumve vocum concentus olim in usu fuisse. . . ."²³⁷

He then gives his reasons for disagreeing with this view:

"Sed multo rectius visum est alijs plurium utique vocum aliquem apud veteres usum fuisse; quorsum enim alioqui attinebat, tot de consonantijs praecepta scriptis prodere? quod Aristotelis etiam testimonio manifestum esse potest, qui octavo Politico. libro capite 5. τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν πάντες εἶναί φασιν τῶν ἡδίστων, καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν, καὶ μετὰ μελωδίας. Esse vero, inquit, musicam de numero iucundissimarum rerum omnes consentimus, tum nudam ac simplicem tum in concentu; ubi per nudam ac simplicem, unius vocis cantum, & per concentum plurium vocum exprimere voluisse, credendum est".

The first of these reasons must have been considered one of the most powerful arguments of the anti-monodists. Their opponents always mention it and attempt to refute it.²³⁸ The second only exist by virtue of a gross mistranslation. In no classical author is "μελωδία" ever used to mean "concentus". Here it must mean vocal music, as opposed to purely instrumental music.

²³⁶ *Lyra Barberina*, I, 120.

²³⁷ *De Musica*, V, xxv. Glareanus (*Dodekachordon*, III, Proemium), in discussing this question, also begins with the same words. Salinas, as usual, makes no acknowledgment.

²³⁸ *v. infra*, note 276. Glarean also records this argument, though he does not agree with it (*Dodekachordon*, III, Proemium).

XI

This concludes the arguments of the anti-monodists. These arguments are few in number, and, except for the passage from Plutarch, the classical evidence on which they are based is of a doubtful and inconclusive nature. Their number might have been increased with a few of the *Problems* of Aristotle, a passage from Seneca and a passage in Plato's *Laws*.²³⁹ But these could only prove that the instrumental part did not always double the voice part, not that the Greeks practised anything comparable to 16th-century polyphony. The arguments of the other side, however, are neither less doubtful nor more conclusive, though far more numerous.

These arguments are of two kinds: those based on evidence from classical authorities, and *a priori* ones connected with the effects. The chief exponents of the latter are Galilei and Mei.

The first of these *a priori* arguments is based on the assumption that high and low sounds, and quick and slow rhythms, when heard simultaneously, cancel each other out. This remarkably erroneous theory is set forth in the most convincing and scientific manner. Mei, for example, begins thus:

"Hor perche la voce era stata data della natura a gl'animali, e all'huomo spezialmente per significazione de concetti intrinseci, era medesimamente ragioneuole, che tutte determinatamente distinte, fussero appropriate a esprimere ciascuna accomodatamente i propri suoi, e non quelli dell'altra. Onde l'acuta non potesse esprimere acconciamente l'affezione della mezzana, e vie meno quella dell'alta, o della graue: anzi che la qualità dell'una doueua necessariamente, essendo sua opposita, o contraria, essere d'impedimento all'operazione dell'altra . . . è cosa notissima, che de tuoni, i mezzani tra l'estrema acutezza, e l'estrema grauità, sono atti a mostrare quieta,

²³⁹ e.g. the problems in Lib. XIX, which deal with the different effects obtained by singing in octaves, fifths, or unison, and especially the remark about accompanists who τὰ ἄλλα οὐ προσυνοῦντες (i.e. not playing in unison with the vocal part) εἰαν εἰς ταῦτόν καταστρέψωσιν, εὐφραίνουσι μᾶλλον τῷ τέλει, ἢ λυποῦσιν ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ τέλους διαφοραῖς, τῇ τοῦ ἐκ διαφορίων τὸ κοινόν, ἥδιστον ἐκ τοῦ διὰ πασῶν γίνεσθαι". Plato, *De Leg.*, VII, 812, the passage in which it is advised that owing to the short space of time available for musical studies, the children should not be taught complicated forms of instrumental accompaniment . . . "τὴν δ'ετεροφωνίαν καὶ ποικελίαν τῆς λύρας . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ πυκνότητα μανότητι καὶ τάχος βραδύτητι καὶ ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι συμφωνον". These the master should not teach, which implies that in the ordinary way such accompaniments were often used. Galilei (*u. infra*, note 259) tried to make this passage mean that Plato disapproved of consonance. Zarlino used it to support his theory of a three-note drone (*Soppl.*, VII, ii; cf. *supra*, note 216).

Seneca, *Epist.*, lxxiv: "Non vides multorum vocibus chorus constet? unus tamen ex omnibus sonus redditur. Aliqua illic acuta est, aliqua gravis, aliqua media. Accedunt viris feminae, interponuntur tibiae, singulorum latent voces, omnium apparent".

e moderata disposizione d'affetto; e i troppo acuti sono da animo troppo commosso, esolleuato, e i troppo graui da pensiero abietto, e la tardezza mostra animo posato, e la velocità concitato, queste qualità così dell' armonia, come del numero hanno per propria natura facoltà de muouere affezioni simiglianti ciascuna a se".²⁴⁰

He then triumphantly concludes:

"Hor poiche tutte le cose proposte son indubitamente vere, necessaria cosa è, poiche la Musica de gl'antichi faceua nel sentirsi effetti tanto gagliardi nel commouere, quanto si legge, che ella si valesse di quelle proprietà, solamente, che erano atte a destare quelli affetti, senza altrimenti mescolarui cosa alcuna contraria, che le impedisse o indebolisse la forza sua nell'operare. E adunque necessario percioche tutti i cantanti, insieme cantassero non solamente le medesime parole, ma il medesimo tuono, e la medesima qualità di numero e rithmo".

Thus, without using any historical data except the "effetti gagliardi", Mei proves to his own satisfaction that ancient music must have been absolutely monodic. Other writers who use this proof do so with more discretion. Galilei,²⁴¹ Artusi²⁴² and Mersenne²⁴³ merely introduce it as a subsidiary reason for believing that the ancients did not use harmony. Although these writers seem to regard it as a sensible and convincing argument, there must have been few musicians who, in practice, could accept it in its entirety. It must always have been obvious to a good musician that two notes of different pitch do not cancel each other out, but that, in addition to hearing each note separately, one also receives a third impression, that of the two notes heard as a chord. But with regard to rhythm this theory is not entirely false.

Mei's theory, then, may have been widely accepted as far as rhythm was concerned. But the more obviously false assumption, that different pitches cancelled each other out, was probably rejected by all practical musicians. Doni's point of view is of this type. He begins thus:

"Cave enim Galileo credas in hodiernis concentibus gravium acutorum-que sonorum mistionem impedimento esse, quominus in excitandis, vel temperandis affectibus sint efficaces. Effatum enim istud absolute sic prolutum minime verum est, neque enim exempli causa acutiores sonitus, semper laeti sunt, aut graviores moesti (saepe enim contrarius accidit)".²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ *Discorso* (no pagination).

²⁴¹ *Dialogo*, p. 82. He uses the same similitude as Mei: that of several opposing forces pulling on a column which remains at rest. On the connexion between Galilei and Mei *v. supra*, note 85.

²⁴² L'Artusi, fos. 14, 15.

²⁴³ *Harm. Univ.* IV, i.

²⁴⁴ *Lyra Barberina*, I, 126. Cf. Zarlino, *Soppl.*, VIII, vii.

But as to the cancelling out of rhythms he says that:

"... diversorum Rhythmorum implicatio hebetat retunditque singulorum vim ac proprietatem, ut nihil languidus, ac fractius fieri possit".²⁴⁵

Later he moderates this condemnation. He allows the composer to use two rhythms simultaneously, provided that one is only the "dissolution" of the other.²⁴⁶ For example, whilst one voice sang ♩, another might sing ♩ ♩ ♩ or ♩ ♩ ♩, but not ♩ ♩. This corresponds exactly with the practice of the musicians of *musique mesurée*.²⁴⁷ Their views on the cancelling out theory may well have been the same as Doni's.

The second and last of these *a priori* arguments²⁴⁸ in favour of monody is based on an aesthetic which may be described as musical puritanism. According to this aesthetic the function of a work of art is to effect a moral change; any pleasure it may give by its beauty impedes this function.²⁴⁹ All the theories connected with the "effects" tend naturally to over emphasize the ethical function of art, but they do not exclude all others. Humanists such as Zarlino, though they wish music to be morally and emotionally powerful, also wish it to be beautiful and pleasing.²⁵⁰

The chief exponent of musical puritanism is Galilei. Like the more moderate humanists, Zarlino, Doni or Mersenne,²⁵¹ Galilei started from the initial assumption that the chief function of music is to influence the listener morally or emotionally. Like them, he believed that this was to be accomplished by making both music and text express some emotion or moral quality; since the text could do this more effectively than the music, the latter was to be

²⁴⁵ *Lyra Barberina*, 125, 126. Later he uses the similitude of hot and cold water which also appears in Mei's *Discorso*.

²⁴⁶ "Nequaquam enim in universum verum est, veloces tardasque motiones admiscendas non esse; hoc enim pacto dialyses, sive dissolutiones Rhythmorum usurpandae non essent . . . sed contrarios aut nimium disparatos Rhythmos non esse iungendos . . . Itaque licebit quidem, dum una pars iambo decurrit, alteram choreo, sive tribacio uti; cum nihil aliud fere hic sit, quam iambi dissolutio; non tamen trochaeo, aut anapaesto, qui toto genere, ac proprietate distant" (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁷ All voices sang the same syllable at the same time, thus preserving the metrical scheme of longs and shorts, which were represented by minims and crotchets. But in any voice a minim or crotchet might be split up into smaller values. Cf. *supra*, note 37.

²⁴⁸ Only *a priori* as far as the question of monody is concerned. As an aesthetic doctrine it had a good classical backing. Cf. *infra*, note 252.

²⁴⁹ In this and other aspects musical puritanism bears a strong resemblance to the aesthetic of the Fathers and of the middle ages (v. Abert, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters*, pp. 1-18, & passim). Both are ultimately distortions of the Greek theory of the ethical function of art; but, apart from this, musical puritanism has of course no connexion with mediaeval thought.

²⁵⁰ E.g. cf. *supra*, Vol II, p. 293, Zarlino's recommendation of expressive harmony "di maniera pero che non offendi".

²⁵¹ But cf. *infra*, note 270.

subordinated to the former. He differed from most other humanists in believing that any pleasure the listener might experience was not merely a subsidiary advantage, but that it was actively harmful. It was harmful because it was non-intellectual, sensual, and therefore evil *per se*. It was harmful because it occupied the listener's attention and thus prevented him being influenced morally or emotionally.

In so far as Galilei's theory remains in this general form it can be supported quite plausibly by the musical aesthetics of Plato and Aristotle.²⁵² But the details and practical conclusions of it are, however, only the inventions of his own mind. Nevertheless he contrives very ingeniously to give them an apparent basis of classical authority.

The cause of this pernicious pleasure is the use of consonances and polyphony, "il cantare tante arie insieme". These have no expressive value and result simply in the "diletto dell'udito". Moreover, owing to the distraction caused by this delight, the text and melody are robbed of any ethical qualities they might otherwise have. Therefore the ancient music which produced such "maravigliosi effetti" must have been monodic, and therefore, if modern music is also to produce such effects, it must also become monodic.²⁵³

In order to support these conclusions with the authority of Plato and Aristotle, Galilei invents, almost entirely out of his own fancy, an historical account of the origin of polyphonic music.²⁵⁴ In the earliest period of Greek music instrumental and vocal music were never separated; "eglino usauano del continuo cantare allo strumento, et di rado per non dir mai, si udiua questo senza la voce, o quello senza lo strumento". Then those who were not talented enough both to sing and play began to perform purely instrumental works. In order to make up for the lack of text they began to use "varie consonanze". This was "grandemente & con giusta cagione abborrito" by everyone "di sano intelletto . . . per conoscer molto bene che la consonanza haueua facultà di scordare gli animi ben composti degli uditori".²⁵⁵

²⁵² v. e.g. *Republic*, III, and *Politics*, VIII, in which so many kinds of music are proscribed on moral grounds.

²⁵³ *Dialogo*, p. 81 seq.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁵⁵ Cerone (*El Melopeo*, I, iii) gives a similar but vaguer account of the degeneration of Greek music, ending thus: "assi començo [la musica] despues degenerar de la prima forma que retenia, y perder su primera y seuera grauidad: haziendose affeminada, lasciva, poco honesta y muy danosa a los animos castos y virtuosos." His source also was Plato; a little later he quotes from the *Laws* (II, 668) (passage

Having thus, on no evidence whatever, stated that classical instrumental music was polyphonic, Galilei is able to support his last statement, about the unfortunate effects of harmony, by quoting Plato's and Aristotle's diatribes against the senseless virtuosity of purely instrumental music:

"... in proposito di che così ragiona il Filosofo²⁵⁶. . . Nell' ottauo della Polit. . . ma togliendo via l'eruditione artititiosa degli strumenti musicali, & di tali esercitij; & artititiosa musica ponendo esser quella che serue a gli spettacoli: conciosia che chi l'adopera in essi, non si sforza dentro per fine alcuno virtuoso, ma per dare piacere a chi ode, & che questo piacere ancora vilmente si faccia; pero affermiamo noi tali esercitij non essere da huomini liberi, ma da seruili & meccanici artefici".²⁵⁷

With Plato he is even more successful, combining two passages from different sources so as to produce a meaning which neither possesses in its context:

"Diuiuo Platone, comando nelle Leggi espressamente, che si cantasse & sonasse Prochorda, & non Simphone: cioè all'Unisono & non in consonanza, hauendo egli nel Timeo prima detto, che l'harmonia ancora che ha i mouimenti congiunti & conueneuoli a discorsi dell'anima nostra, e utile all'huomo che con l'intelletto usa le muse, & non per l'irrationale piacere si come hora pare che sia, di maniera che si vede espressamente, che fin al tempo di quel Diuiuo Filosofo si costumaua per alcuni di cantare & sonare in consonanza".²⁵⁸

The first passage referred to has probably some reference to playing in consonance. But Plato says nothing against it; he merely advises that, owing to the small amount of time available for such studies, children should be taught only the simplest forms of instrumental accompaniment.²⁵⁹ The passage from the *Timaeus* must be that which begins:

"ἡ δὲ ἁρμονία, συγγενεῖς ἔχουσα φορὰς ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις, τῷ μετὰ νοῦ προσχρωμένῳ Μουσiais οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄλογον καθάπερ νῦν εἶναι δοκεῖ χρήσιμος".²⁶⁰

This is a good support for musical puritanism in general, but it contains no reference to the use of harmony. Galilei obtained the

beginning "Ἡμιστ' ἄρα ὅταν τις μουσικὴν ἡδονὴν φηί κρίνεσθαι . . ."). Cf. also Zarline, *Soppl.*, VIII, ii: ". . . la Musica . . . s'incominciò a poco a poco lasciare: Imperoche hauendosi dato principio al Conento fatto de uarij suoni & di Voci uarie, gli Istrumenti s'incominciarono à far con quelle politesse & garbature, come uediamo essere in quelle de i nostri tempi; & di più s'aggiunse nella Musica il Ballo, accompagnandolo (che questo è peggio) con molte cose souerchie & mouimenti men che honesti".

²⁵⁶ i.e. Aristotle.

²⁵⁷ *Dialogo*, p. 83.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁵⁹ v. *supra*, note 239.

²⁶⁰ Plato, *Timaeus*, 47.

meaning he required by mistranslating "ἁρμονία" as "harmonia". The Greek word does not, of course, mean "harmony", but "tune" or "mode" as opposed to "μελωδία", which means "tune together with words".

Galilei, then, believed that polyphony had its origin in instrumental music and that the Greeks rightly thought it pernicious.²⁶¹ By a continuation of this theory he came to the conclusion that modern music corresponded exactly to the hedonistic instrumental music of the ancients. This he confirms by the interesting observation "che la piu parte delle cantilene d'hoggi facciano migliore ben sonate, che ben cantate".²⁶² He believes in fact that modern music is purely instrumental in character. That is to say, modern vocal works are not badly written for the human voice considered as an instrument, but in most of them the text has no purpose or relevance at all. In a less sweeping form this statement would not be wholly untrue. In spite of the general tendency during the 16th century to unite more closely a setting to its text, many madrigals were published as "apt for both viols and voices",²⁶⁴ and often the description was justified. Where Galilei goes wrong is in supposing that these works must necessarily be without meaning and only capable of giving sensual pleasure. He is unable to conceive the existence of a meaning that is purely musical. He believes therefore that music, which abandons the verbal meaning of the text, is no more than a pleasant noise. Zarlino's sharp criticism was not unjust:

"Quelli che sono ignoranti d'una cosa; che non la sapendo, la biasimano; come uediamo d'alcuno, che essendo priuo della musica; & diletlandosi dello studio delle lettere humane; maggiormente ama d'intender le parole contenute in una cantilena . . . che udir la sua Harmonia; forse per non hauer l'Udito ad essa accommodato".²⁶⁵

The reason why music has been degraded from a moral and intellectual force to a mere sensual pleasure is of course the use of polyphony. Both consonances and dissonances

²⁶¹ Later (*Dialogo*, p. 90) he completely contradicts himself, saying that "come vuole Aristotele" purely instrumental music has "natura d'imitare il costume" and "grandissima facultà d'operare negli animi degli uditori gran parte degli affetti che al perito sonatore piaceuano". The mention of Aristotle refers probably to passages such as those quoted above. The contradiction might be partially explained if Galilei believed that in antiquity there were two kinds of instrumental music, one mimetic, and one merely pleasurable. He himself appears quite unconscious of the contradiction.

²⁶² *Dialogo*, p. 87.

²⁶⁴ v. Max Schneider, *o.c.*, p. 12; Schering, *Ausführungspraxis alter Musik*, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 74, 75.

²⁶⁵ Zarlino, *Soppl.*, VIII, x.

"all'espressione de concetti per impremer gli affetti nell'uditore, non solo sono di sommo impedimento, ma pessimo veleno: & la cagione è questa. La continua delicatezza della diuersità degli accordi, mescolata con quel poca d'aspro & amaro delle varie dissonanze, oltre a mille altre soperchie maniere d'artificio, che con tanta industria sono andati cercando i contrapuntisti de nostri tempi, per allettare l'orecchie, le quali di raccontare si lasciano per non esser tedioso; sono come ho detto, di sommo impedimento a commouere l'animo ad affettione alcuna: il quale occupato & quasi legato principalmente con questi lacci di così fatto piacere, non gli danno tempo d'intendere non che di considerare le mal profferite parole".²⁶⁶

After reading this one is not surprised that Galilei's monodic compositions²⁶⁷ were described by Piero Bardi as having "una certa rozzezza, e troppa antichità".²⁶⁸

Galilei's excessively ascetic outlook on music in general and harmony in particular was not an isolated phenomenon. Mei, of course, has almost identical views,²⁶⁹ and even Mersenne, so tolerant and appreciative of all types of music, gives this warning:

"Caveant autem summopere musici tantum auribus placere, vel idiotas harmonico concentu sibi conciliare velint; quod solum musici recentiores efficere velle mihi videntur, dum certas consonantias cum alijs ita connectunt, & ex una in aliam transeunt, ut solummodo aures, vel animum delectatione pascere velint, quem aliquando magno moerore, alias ira, & alijs affectibus commouere deberent".²⁷⁰

We have now to deal with the pro-monody arguments which are based on evidence from classical authorities. These are of two kinds: negative and positive. Zarlino and Cerone rely almost entirely on the latter.²⁷¹ They consist merely of a list of passages, mostly from ancient poets, in which the singing of one voice to the lyre or some other instrument is mentioned, from the *χοῖδοι* in Homer to Nero in Suetonius. These passages may prove that monody was a common form of music in the ancient world, but they

²⁶⁶ *Dialogo*.

²⁶⁷ They have not survived.

²⁶⁸ In a letter from Pero Bardi Conte di Vernio (son of Giovanni Bardi, the patron of the Florentine humanists) to Doni, dated 16th Dec., 1634, printed in *Ang. Mar. Bandini Commentariorum de Vita et Scriptis Ioannis Bapt. Doni . . . Libri quinque . . . eiusdem Doni literarium commercium hunc primum in lucem editum*, Florence, 1755, p. 118, Letter LXXI.

²⁶⁹ "Il diletto . . . senza altro fine piu oltre, o di penetrare con il concetto loro piu efficacemente all'animo, o destare in altrui piu questo, che quello affetto, è solamente hoggi la mira del loro cantare . . . nella musica de nostri . . . il sentimento della continuata delicatezza de loro accordi, e consonanze, e cento altre soperchie maniere d'artificio, che eglino uniti quasi con fuscellino, come s'usa dire, cercando d'allettare piu l'orecchie, è di somma impedimento al commouere l'animo ad affezione alcuna occupato, e quasi legato principalmente con questi laccioli di così fatto piacere". Mei, *Discorso*.

²⁷⁰ *Qu. in Gen.*, 57, xvi.

²⁷¹ Zarlino, *Ist.*, II, iv. Cerone, *El Meloëo*, II, xxvii.

could never prove that there was no other, as Zarlino and Cerone apparently imagine. Galilei and Mersenne, however, use positive evidence only to show that monody was more highly considered than any other kind of music. They might have succeeded in doing this, had there been sufficient evidence at their disposal. But Galilei could only produce a passage from Plato's *Laws*,²⁷² the meaning of which he distorted in order to prove his point, and Mersenne could only quote some suggestive, but inconclusive questions from Aristotle's *Problems*: "Διὰ τί ἡ διὰ πασῶν καλλίστη συμφωνία"; and "Διὰ τί ἥδιον ἔστι τὸ ἀντίφωνον τοῦ συμφώνου".²⁷³

Thus the only potent arguments of the pro-monodists were the negative ones which have already been mentioned in connexion with Doni.²⁷⁴ The first of these is that which is most frequently and confidently advanced: that the ancients did not consider 3rds and 6ths to be consonant. Artusi gives it in its usual form:

(Question) "Leuatemi questo pensiero, & ditemi; Anticamente haueano le Consonanze, che habbiamo noi sì, o no? Se le haueano, come io mi do a credere; perche non Cantauano, e Suonauano nel modo, che facciamo noi? qual cosa gli daua impedimento? Se non le haueuano ancora in un modo molto imperfetto cognitione di questa scienza; e pur a quei tempi fioriuano tutte le belle lettere, & eranui huomini molto segnalati, iudiciosi, & d'ingegno acuti, speculatiui, e pratici eccellenti; che di cio ne fanno fede gli scritti loro, che ancora dano da pensare alli Theorici moderni, piu che non vorebbono".

(Answer) "... se bene si vede dalle loro parole, che hebbero cognitione di queste consonanze, le conobbero pero per dissonanti, ne mai da loro furno adoperate; perche teneano per un'assioma, che fossero dissonanti; ne perciò poterono come noi cantare tante arie insieme".²⁷⁵

In Galilei's *Dialogo* the same objection to this argument is made: why, if they did not use them in practice, did the ancients "per i

²⁷² v. *supra*, note 258.

²⁷³ Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, 57, ii. Aristotle, *Problems*, XIX. He might also have used "Διὰ τί ἥδιον τῆς μονοψῆδης ἀκούμεν, ἢ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ λύραν ᾄδῃ"; and "Διὰ τί ἡ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνία ἥδιον ἐστὶ μόνῃ" (*ibid.*).

²⁷⁴ v. *supra*, section X.

²⁷⁵ *L'Artusi*, fos. 14, 15. His authorities are "Aristosseno il Tradotto dal Gogauino [Venice, 1562] a carte 16 del Primo Libro: 'Modulamur enim minora interualla, quam diatessaron, cum plura quidem tamen omnia dissona'. Tolomeo, Lib. I, cap. x: 'Incompositum vero ditonum, a melo alienum, ut quod in ratione 81, ad 64. sensibus autem faciliora percepta sunt, quae commensurabiliora'".

The quotation from Ptolemy is an unwise one, since no one had ever denied that the Pythagorean ditone (81 : 64) was dissonant. Artusi wished to prove, as is suggested by Aristoxenus, that *all* intervals smaller than the 4th (4 : 3) were considered dissonant, even the just thirds (5 : 4, 6 : 5).

libri far tanto rumore delle lor consonanze?"²⁷⁶ *i.e.* discuss the proportions of the imperfect consonances in such detail. Galilei, Mei, Zarlino²⁷⁷ and Mersenne²⁷⁸ all repeat the same not very satisfactory answer to this objection: these discussions were purely scientific and therefore indicate nothing about the practice of Greek musicians.

The rest of these negative arguments are equally inconclusive. Mersenne and Zarlino tried to prove that the use of the unmixed chromatic and enharmonic genera made harmony impossible²⁷⁹. This argument could, at the most, only prove that the Greeks sometimes sang monodically, not that they always did. There was more hope of proving the latter proposition by the last of the negative arguments: that in no ancient author is there any mention of polyphony.²⁸⁰ But, as we have seen from Salinas and Doni,²⁸¹ this was by no means an undisputed fact.

XII

This concludes an outline of the humanists' views on the question of monody. With regard to the practical influence of humanism on music, it is very significant that at least two famous scholars, Salinas and Doni, did not believe ancient music to have been monodic, and that many of those who took the opposite view were nevertheless in favour of using harmony. With the exception of the Florentines, humanists were prepared to accept any modification of polyphonic style, provided that it conformed in other ways to their conception of ancient music. This condition was admirably fulfilled by a homophonic style. The audibility of the text was ensured, its rhythm or its metre was made clear and obvious, and its emotional and moral content could be musically or dramatically expressed as vividly as in a monodic style. It is therefore not surprising that most of the 16th century music which is strongly influenced by humanism is not monodic but homophonic. All *musique mesurée* and nearly all German *musique mesurée*²⁸² is homophonic, and even early dramatic works, such as the *Balet de la Royné*,

²⁷⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 105.

²⁷⁷ Zarlino, *Ist.*, pp. 70, 71.

²⁷⁸ *Qu. in Gen.*, 57, ii.

²⁷⁹ *v. supra*, Vol II, p. 117.

²⁸⁰ E.g. Glareanus (*Dodekachordon*, Lib. III, Proemium): "apud nullum. quod equidem sciam, authorem veterem quicquam huius cantus (*i.e.* of several voices) inueniatur. Multo minus etiam uidetur quibusdam quatuor pluriumue vocum concentus olim in usu fuisse".

²⁸¹ *v. supra*, Section X.

²⁸² *v. supra*, note 9.

Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*²⁸³ or Peri's *Euridice*, contain many more or less homophonic choruses as well as monodic recitative.²⁸⁴

Many of the more liberal humanists were also ready to allow even a fugal style, provided always that the text was carefully treated as regards audibility, rhythm and expressiveness.²⁸⁵ The field of possible humanist influence need not, therefore, be restricted to monodic and homophonic works; it can include such polyphonic works, as, for example, the chromatic settings of classical verse by de Rore and di Lasso.²⁸⁶

Nevertheless the influence of the pro-monodists should not be underrated. Even though popular monody had always existed, although the solos of the early seventeenth century were a natural and inevitable outcome of the more homophonic madrigals which preceded them, yet there is no doubt that the patronage and propaganda of the Florentine Camerata aided and influenced the composition of serious monody. Whether it is true that in the discussions of the Camerata humanism was only a pretext cannot here be discussed at length. It may, however, be pointed out, that the *stilo recitativo* corresponds very closely to the severe but expressive style at which Galilei was aiming, and for Galilei humanism was certainly not a mere pretext. On the other hand, it is true, as Ambros points out,²⁸⁷ that Caccini's solos in the *Nuove Musiche* appear to owe little or nothing to humanist influence.

There is another way in which the ideas of the pro-monodists may have influenced 16th-century music. Their puritanical aesthetic was probably quite widespread and may have been one of the causes of the extreme simplicity and austerity of much humanist music. This aesthetic was, after all, only an extension and exaggeration of the belief in the ethical power of music, a belief which was universal in the 16th century and which rested on the highest classical authority. The severe harmony of *musique mesurée*, for

²⁸³ It is, however, true that Cavalieri's "Aria sonata e cantata al modo antico" is monodic.

²⁸⁴ I have insisted on this point because many modern writers have assumed that the influence of humanism must produce a monodic style, v. e.g. P. M. Masson, *Bericht über d. II. Kongress d. I.M.G.*, 1907, p. 182; Peter Warlock, *Preface to Airs from Bataille*, Oxford, 1926; Romain Rolland, in *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, ed. Lavignac, lière Partie, III, p. 1344.

²⁸⁵ Doni's suggestion of contrapuntally accompanied solos (v. *supra*, Section IX) was only an extension of normal polyphonic style and execution. He also approved of the "stilo madrigalesco" for ejaculatory texts (*Lyra Barbarina*, II, 102).

²⁸⁶ v. *supra*.

²⁸⁷ o.c. IV, 321.

example, may well be due to a milder version of Galilei's ascetic fear of "il diletto dell'udito". In all Mauduit's works there are only five suspensions.²⁸⁸ Le Jeune, in his *musique mesurée*, is a little less restrained, but it is only very occasionally that he uses dissonances, suspensions or chromatic progressions, and then always in order to illustrate his text,²⁸⁹ not to "animum delectatione pascere".

²⁸⁸ *Chansonnettes*, ed. Expert, pp. 34, 51, 76, 79, 83.

²⁸⁹ E.g. in *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurés*, ed. Expert, III, 21, Le Jeune uses false relations and harsh dissonances to illustrate the words "Contre le cours naturel l'onde remonte soudain".

Reviews of Music

Bartók, Béla *String Quartet No. 6*. Miniaturescore. (Boosey & Hawkes.) 3s. 6d.

This is the latest of what is arguably the most important series of string quartets since Beethoven. That is not quite the high praise it sounds for there have not been many "series" of quartets since Beethoven at all; so many musicians—Franck, Debussy, Ravel, Elgar, Sibelius, for instance—have thrown off single quartets of great value and then failed to return to the medium. Brahms' three quartets and Schumann's set of three, again, hardly represent their composers at the height of their powers; one certainly cannot trace in them their composers' musical autobiographies. It is rare indeed to find, as we do in Bartók, a composer who has turned to the string quartet at every stage of his creative career and put into his quartets the very best of himself. Bartók wrote his first quartet Op. 7 in 1908, the same year as the piano *Bagatelles*, Op. 6, which mark the beginning of his really individual creativeness; others followed in 1917, 1927, 1928 and 1934; this No. 6 is dated "August–November, 1939". So the quartets, though few in number, give us a complete cross-section of his development. Considering that, the comparison with Beethoven will no longer seem extravagant except to those who altogether deny his claim to a place in the first, or even second, rank.

What, then, has this latest quartet to tell us about Bartók's evolution? First and foremost, I think, that he is mellowing, that his utterance is becoming, not more clear and concise (which it nearly always has been), but less aggressively self-assured; the quartet is written with the easy mastery of a man who is really sure of himself, who has done his research and is satisfied with it and who now has the resultant material at his finger-tips. Thus the old tricks re-appear—the pizzicato chords played as up-and-down arpeggios, the glissandi, the celebrated (and rather regrettable) "strong pizzicati, making the string rebound off the fingerboard"; they have become characteristic embellishments of Bartók's writing; but they are used with great moderation. Rhythmically, too, this quartet is less complicated than its predecessors; texture and form are both crystal-clear. Does all this suggest that Bartók is growing conservative or that he has taken to "writing on his technique"? It should not. If Bartók is conservative of anything it is only of his own gains; he is in no sense going backward or repeating himself; he is simply giving us his thought in distilled essence instead of in a turbid stream.

Bartók has always been interested in the old nineteenth-century problem of giving unity to the complete work; he likes, in particular, to link up the finale with the first movement. In the finale of No. 3 occurs a free *ricapitolazione della prima parte* (or, at any rate, of its themes in slightly altered forms); the finale of No. 4 is based on material from the first movement, and the endings of both movements are practically identical. In No. 6 Bartók again returns to the problem and solves it in a most artistic and (I believe) quite original way. The viola, solo and unaccompanied, opens the quartet with a mournful thirteen-bar strain, which is the "motto" of the work in a more precise sense than most so-called "motto-themes"; it is not a folk-song but it is not so very distantly related to folk-song (*cf.* No. 119 of Bartók's *Das ungarische Volkslied*). Then all four instruments break in *pesante* in octaves,

announcing the real "first subject" of the movement in rhythmic augmentation—a passage precisely parallel to the opening of Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge*—and immediately the first violin takes it up in its true *vivace* form and shows that it, too, has folk-song in its ancestry (cf. No. 299 of *Das ungarische Volkslied*). This first movement is in clear, absolutely classical sonata-form, with first subject in D minor-major and second subject in a contrasted and afterwards reconciled key which I take to be a sort of Pickwickian B minor; but, except for a resemblance, possibly only a chance resemblance, in this second subject, one sees no connexion between the movement and the motto. However the motto, now played by the 'cello against a shimmering, muted background, also introduces the second movement: a march which likewise arouses Beethovenian echoes (cf. the little *alla marcia* of Op. 132). Again, worked polyphonically, it forms the prelude to the third: a wildly Bartókian *burletta*, with quarter-tones and other devices calculated to horrify the bourgeois. And then this mournful strain is heard for the fourth time. But now in the finale there is no interruption; the motto itself is allowed to develop and to dominate the whole movement, though themes from the first movement (first subject and transition-theme) are woven in as well; but these themes are now in slow *tempo* and seem to have a spiritual affinity with the motto. And it is the motto, once more on the viola and in the original key, that has the last word. That spoken, one realizes that the quartet has an emotional programme hardly less obvious than that of a Tchaikovsky symphony. What the motto symbolizes, or whether it has any extra-musical significance, we need not ask; but the effect of this *idée fixe*, thrice brushed away but returning and establishing itself in mournful triumph, should be profoundly moving in performance.

Ireland, John.

Sarnia: an Island Sequence for piano. (Boosey & Hawkes.) 5s. complete.

Three Pastels for piano: 1. "A Grecian Lad". 2s. 2. "The Boy Bishop". 2s. 3. "Puck's Birthday". 2s.

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Critics are cursed creatures. The reviewer is conscious of a certain cussedness, a certain ungraciousness, as he turns the pages of these attractive, beautifully written and in many places incontestably beautiful piano-pieces. He has often deplored the gulf that separates so many of the best contemporary composers from the contemporary musical public; he realizes that if Ireland had continued to develop his personal idiom, particularly his harmonic idiom, from the middle 1920's to the present day at the same rate that he had developed it up to those 1920's, he would long since have opened just such a gulf between himself and the majority of his public. Logically, the reviewer ought to rejoice that he has not done so; actually and cussedly, he finds himself deploring that Ireland has so little new to say. It is not that he actually repeats himself; Mr. Tertis does that for him—for the Viola Sonata which one opens with excited anticipation turns out to be only a transcription by that skilled hand of the Cello Sonata of 1923, perhaps the high-water mark of Ireland's personal development. It is not, I say, that he actually repeats himself, though there is a passage in "The Boy Bishop" which very nearly repeats one in the Piano Sonata of more than twenty years ago; it is that the

essential stuff of these new pieces differs so little from the essential stuff of the music Ireland was writing twenty or even thirty years ago. And one cannot help feeling disappointed that such a fine musical mind should have ceased to develop.

In the *Three Pastels* one doesn't mind. They are pleasant, poetic little pieces of a type in which Ireland and other distinguished contemporary British composers have always excelled: agreeable piano-fodder for amateurs or "older pupils" (In the case of "Puck's Birthday" distinctly for "older pupils"). "A Grecian Lad" is admittedly "re-written from an early MS". No one is going to judge Ireland's development by things like these *Pastels*. But *Sarnia* is a different matter; compared with the *Three Pastels*, the three pieces that form this "island sequence" are oil paintings, and perhaps their nature can be most clearly conveyed by saying that they attempt in oils the sort of thing the composer did in water-colours in the "Decorations" of 1912. To say they "attempt" is ungenerous; they succeed, and succeed superbly. Ireland has always been a master of the art of wringing lovely effects of sonority from the piano, effects that are not only delicious in themselves but, to those who can let their imaginations off the leash of pure music, magically evocative. *Sarnia* is full of such effects; the *calmato* passage in "Song of the Springtides" is perhaps the most memorable; and there is a long and most fascinating, though slightly banal, rhythmic passage in "Le Catioc", possibly intended to suggest the "cantus tibiarum et tinnitus cymbalorum" of the epigraph. Of "In a May Morning" one feels more doubtful, though many people will consider this piece the best of the three. It is obviously an expression of deep personal emotion and, for the reviewer's taste, the expression is too nakedly, richly emotional. Many composers, apparently feeling what they have written to be not precise enough in expression, have sprinkled their pages with emotional directions to the performer; Ireland has here done exactly the opposite, qualifying his over-emotional music with the warning *ma semplice*. The piece is as delicate a problem to play as "Che farò" is, in exactly the opposite way, to sing. But those who enjoy wallowing in rich romantic feeling will love it—and probably ruin it. G. A.

Barber, Samuel. *Essay for Orchestra*. Study score. (Schirmer, New York.) \$1.50.

Mr. Barber might have more appropriately called his work "Essay in Orchestration". For he orchestrates most attractively in clear, bright colours, and from this point of view his score is a pleasure to read—the more so because his publishers have treated him well. (These "study scores" of Schirmer's are far preferable to so many too-miniature scores of modern orchestral works.) But the music he has orchestrated is another matter; subtract the scoring and there would be nothing left. There is music—a good deal of Sibelius, for instance—that one cannot think of apart from the orchestration, but Mr. Barber's "Essay" is hardly in that category. It consists of a slow introduction followed by a *scherzo* which broadens at the end into a brief reference to the introduction. But the introduction only introduces, and the *scherzo* is not merely dry and brittle—those qualities can be positively attractive—but lacking in wit or any other kind of musical essence. If the reader can imagine the *scherzo* of Bruckner's Ninth Symphony breeding with the *scherzo* of Bartók's Piano Suite, Op. 14—and the result still-born—he will have a fairly accurate idea of the nature of Mr. Barber's *Allegro molto*.

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Haydn: Symphony No. 103 in E flat ("Paukenwirbel").

Hallé Orchestra conducted by Leslie Heward.

Columbia DX 1057-59. 12s.

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Hallé Orchestra conducted by Malcolm Sargent.

Columbia DX 1053. 4s.

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Jascha Heifetz and Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Eugene Goossens.

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A widely varied collection of interesting works among which the starred titles must on no account be missed. Of those not so favoured the best are: the last record of the Butterworth, Stanford's setting of *The blue bird*, the Mozart *Fantasia and Fugue* and the E flat Symphony (K. 543).

Unfortunately it is impossible to recommend the new Hallé recordings which are almost uniformly strident and screechy in the treble and over-weighted in the bass: though parts of the Grieg are noticeably cleaner than the other issues. This is all the more disappointing since some of the performances have obviously been first-class and I cannot imagine that the *Paukenwirbel* will ever be better played.

The two Walton recordings are listed as being the only available versions of music not yet universally familiar. How much benefit can be derived from them is another matter; although the performances seem to have been adequate, the recordings, as such, are among the worst that have reached us from the United States.

G. N. S.

 REVIEWERS

G. A. — GERALD ABRAHAM

G. N. S. — EDITOR

Correspondence

16, CHALCOT GARDENS,
LONDON, N.W.3.
5th December, 1941.

The Editor, THE MUSIC REVIEW.

SIR,—The November issue of THE MUSIC REVIEW contains a letter from Mr. Frank Walker which I think needs a reply, as not all readers of your journal will be familiar with the details of the discussion to which Mr. Walker refers. May I therefore be allowed to repeat one or two of the points I have previously made elsewhere? From Mr. Walker's letter it must appear to the casual reader that I have gone back on some of my earlier statements, and I am very anxious to point out that this is not the case.

The matter concerns the different versions of Wolf's *Italian Serenade*. When, in 1898, Wolf had finally to be admitted to a home for mental cases, his entire estate was taken in charge by the *Hugo Wolf-Verein*, and a list of all the manuscripts found in his possession was compiled by Edmund Hellmer.¹ This list is published as Appendix No. 12 in Werner's book (from p. 123 on) and contains *three* manuscripts of the *Italian Serenade*. All are described as "undated" and in the following words which, as they are of great importance in the present investigation, I quote in the original German:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Serenade für zwei Violinen, Viola und Cello | (a) |
| Zwei Sätze einer Serenade für zwei Violinen, Viola und Cello. (Sehr lebhaft. G-dur 3/8, Intermezzo Es-dur 2/4) | (b) |
| Italienische Serenade für kleines Orchester. (Unvollendet) | (c) |

This German wording excludes all possibility of the manuscript (b) being, as Mr. Walker describes it in his letter, a case of "a serenade and an intermezzo" happening to be together in the same wrapper. It definitely alludes to *one* serenade in two movements, the first movement designated "Sehr lebhaft" and the second "Intermezzo". No one who has not himself had an opportunity of examining the manuscript in detail is in a position to assume that Hellmer was mistaken and that the two movements are actually separate pieces with no connexion between them. As long as there is no proof to the contrary, we must rely on Hellmer and assume that a "Serenade in two movements for string quartet" did exist.

Further proof of this is given by Hellmer in his edition (1903) of Wolf's letters to Emil Kauffmann. In this book appears the footnote which has so often been mentioned in this discussion that it may be advisable to give here its original German text. It refers to Wolf's letter of 2nd April, 1892, in which he writes Kauffmann that he is working at an orchestral version of the *Italian Serenade*. A footnote reads as follows:—

"Von dieser 'Italienischen Serenade' (meaning the orchestral version) ist nur der erste Satz, 'Sehr lebhaft, G-dur 3/8' vollendet. Er ist thematisch verwandt mit dem ersten Satze einer 'Serenade für Streichquartett'. Ein 'Intermezzo' und eine 'Tarantella' sind Fragmente geblieben."

There is no doubt that this footnote is of outstanding importance in the discussion. Its author is one of the very few who have seen all three manuscripts, and unless we refuse altogether to accept Hellmer as a reliable source, we have to assume that there did exist a serenade for string quartet in *two movements*, as Hellmer at any rate mentions it as an indisputable fact.

All we have to do, therefore, is to try to determine the dates of the three different versions of the *Serenade*, and in this Wolf's letters are most helpful. The *Serenade* in one movement is clearly mentioned in his letter to Grohe of 16th April, 1890, as having been written "three years ago", so that the date of its composition must be some time in 1887. The orchestral version is also clearly mentioned in the letter to

¹ Werner, *Der Hugo Wolf-Verein*, p. 73.

Kauffmann of 2nd April, 1892, leaving no uncertainty as to its date. It remains only to ascertain the date of the "*Serenade* in two movements for string quartet", and there is no other letter relating to this than the letter to Grohe of 16th March, 1894, which clearly states that a second movement of the *Serenade* was at that time complete. I therefore accepted March, 1894, as the date of the composition of the version in two movements and see no reason for changing my opinion. This assumption furthermore explains very plausibly the statement, found in many competent sources, that the published string quartet was written after the orchestral version. There remains to ascertain at some later date, when we may have access to the manuscripts, whether there is indeed a great difference between the string quartet version in one movement and the first movement of the string quartet version in two movements. It is in this connexion that I agreed with Mr. Walker in my article in *THE MUSIC REVIEW* that possibly the two versions will prove to be more than only thematically related to one another. This conclusion seems all the more probable on consideration of the fact that the orchestral version of 1892 forms, so to speak, a bridge between the two string quartet versions of 1887 and 1894.

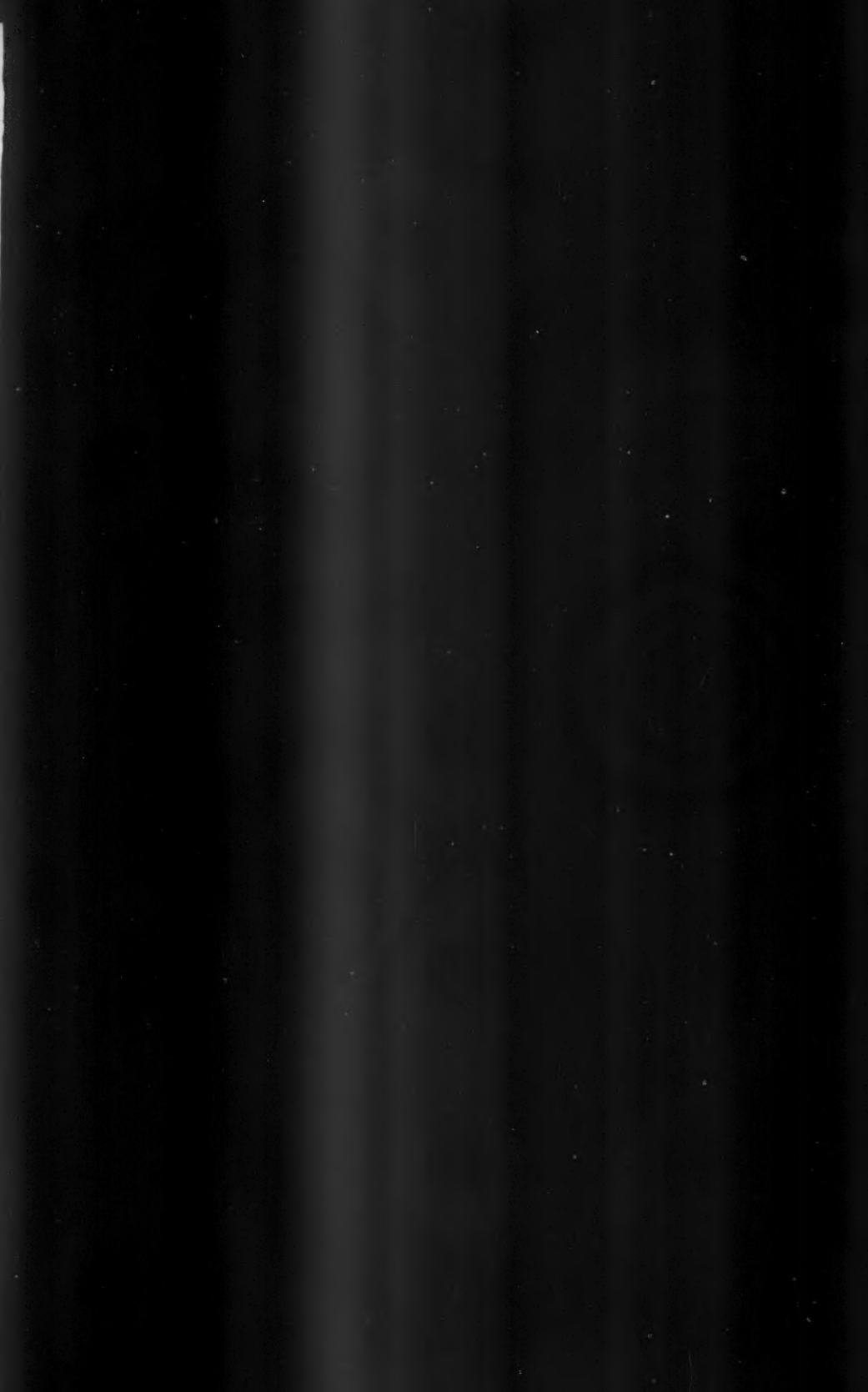
In my article in *THE MUSIC REVIEW* I remarked on the improbability of all the sources quoted (Hofmeister, Paul Müller, Reger, Decsey) being "victims of a mass hypnosis". Mr. Walker is rather hasty in trying to reassure me on this score by saying that "of course they all drew their information from the same source—the publisher's announcement of the string quartet version as the composer's arrangement from the orchestral version". That sounds as cheerful and confident as an Alpine yodel, but the least one may expect of one undertaking research of this kind is that he makes sure of the chronological order of publications before suggesting that persons whose names rank high in the history of the Hugo Wolf-movement have copied one another like naughty schoolboys. The facts are that of the publications in question, Reger's article in the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* appeared first (Feb. 1904) and the Hofmeister volume with what Mr. Walker seems to call the "publisher's announcement" appeared at the earliest towards the end of March of that year. Just as in the case of Hellmer, it must be stated of Reger that for weeks and perhaps months he had in his possession Wolf's manuscripts. I see no reason, without having an opportunity of seeing the manuscripts myself, for questioning the results at which he arrives. The only comment which can safely be made is that Reger at that time obviously was not informed of the existence of the 1887 string quartet version and that therefore the 1894 version could not be called an "arrangement" of the 1892 orchestral version but was only a resumption of the old, original form of this very genuine string quartet.

One more word regarding the description of the entry in Hofmeister as a "publisher's announcement." It makes me wonder whether Mr. Walker has ever seen a Hofmeister volume and is familiar with the principles on which that publication is compiled. If he has, he will know that it is certainly not an organ for announcements inserted in any form a publisher may choose nor are its entries ever based on publishers' announcements appearing elsewhere. All the publisher may do is to submit a copy of a work immediately upon publication, and the nature of the entry is decided upon by the Hofmeister editor in strict accordance with established rules.

Finally, there is Wolf's letter to Grohe of 9th June, 1894. When Werner published that letter in 1905 he evidently did not take it to refer to the *Serenade* at all. No footnote to that effect is to be found on page 153, on which the letter, to which Mr. Walker attaches such importance, appears. However, it does not seem doubtful that the "Suite" of which Wolf speaks in his letter, is indeed the *Serenade*. It cannot be seen from the letter whether the orchestral or the string quartet version is meant, and it should not be overlooked that Decsey dates the incomplete slow movement a year previous to the writing of that letter. In order to bring it in line with his theory that a second complete movement of the *Italian Serenade for orchestra* at one time existed, Mr. Walker would have to assume that it disappeared in some manner after its completion, leaving quite unexplained the date and even the existence of a second movement for strings. It is such an assumption that I described in a letter to the *Musical Times* as "too fantastic to waste a word about".

Yours faithfully,

A. ABER.



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